THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

LOOKING AT THE SHABBY STATE OF OUR civil liberties from the cool perspective of history, President Truman comes up with the reassuring word that the country is not going to hell. After every great war, he told a press conference last week, a tendency to hysteria develops and in time subsides. The Alien and Sedition Acts of the Adams and Jefferson administrations were cited as cases in point and so were the rampages of the Ku Klux Klan in the Twenties. If Mr. Truman were a philosopher, we might applaud his detachment, his refusal to be affected by the heat of the moment. But Mr. Truman is the head of the federal government, and the simple fact is that the hysteria set loose in such periods as this does not really subside automatically, much less when a major source of incitement lies within the government itself. When reporters intimated to the President that this might be the case, he expressed confidence that no executive office was in the grip of the hysteria and added that if it were, he would clean it out. This comes in the very week in which his own War Department has been found guilty of a whopping contribution to the public fever. No sooner had the army explained its way out of the outrageous incident concerning Gordon Clapp than it developed that the genuinely democratic head of TVA was not alone in being found unfit for the job of democraticizing the Germans. Also found "unemployable" were Dr. George S. Counts, Roger Baldwin, Dr. Theresa Wolfson, and Professors Kimball Young and John M. McConnell—all equipped for just such a task to a degree that few Americans can approach, least of all the army numbskulls who only a week ago pronounced Hjalmar Schacht eligible for an administrative post in the government of Western Germany.

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THE PRESIDENT WAS REPORTED TO HAVE shown a certain coolness toward J. Edgar Hoover. But his coolness was even more marked when the suggestion was made that the FBI might stand some investigating for the scandalous way in which decent citizens are branded in the dossiers of that agency. It is true, of course, that Mr. Hoover objected strenuously to the publication of such material in connection with the Coplon trial, but publicity only served to reveal the baleful fact that groundless suspicion and baseless slander are duly recorded and given a place in the files of the FBI. An amused scorn was Mr. Truman's reaction to the move of the House Un-American Affairs Committee to con school textbooks for dangerous thoughts. We find it hard to be either amused or detached at the prospect of such a probe by any agency of government, and least of all by the most backward group in Washington. There is hardly a smile even in the irony that pressure for such a snooping expedition comes from precisely those forces which are most opposed to federal aid to education lest the forces of government corrupt the purity of our schools. There is just a chance, too, that the President's lofty approach may make little impression on the riff-raff of the Ku Klux Klan, which has again been plaguing Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi, dragging men and women from their homes and whipping them for supposed infractions of the Klan code of proper parental conduct, as well as for failing "to keep those niggers down." The lower the economic barometer falls, the higher the fever will rise. The hysteria, as Mr. Truman says, will eventually pass away, but we do not care to wait until our civil liberties have passed away along with it.

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READERS MAY RECALL THE VERY MOVING account by Clifford J. Durr (How to Measure Loyalty, *Nation*, April 23) of the pseudo-juridical process by which Roy Patterson, twice-decorated veteran, was discharged from his post in the Labor Department on flimsy and anonymous charges of disloyalty. As we go to press, we learn from Mr. Durr that the Loyalty Review Board, having decided the accusations were baseless, has ordered Patterson's reinstatement. This is good news, and overdue. But the whole miserable incident could have been avoided if Patterson had been accorded the fundamental rights of due process still unhappily denied government employees.

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YUGOSLAVIA IS ASSERTING ITS STRONG determination to break the eastern encirclement that threatens its very existence, by simultaneously negotiating various loans and trade agreements with the West. A five-year trade pact with the British seems on the verge of being concluded, and a request to the International Bank for something between $20,000,000 and $40,000,000 is at this moment receiving sympathetic

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consideration in Washington. When this request was first made last May, Secretary Acheson reacted rather coldly, saying that it must meet the usual requirement of proving sensible from a business point of view. Since then the economic outlook of Yugoslavia has certainly not improved, but on the other hand its relations with Russia have deteriorated to a degree that makes a patching-up of the year-old quarrel more unlikely than ever. In the cross-fire of abuse and recrimination that has been going on between Yugoslavia and the other Eastern countries, a final decisive shot was fired by the Yugoslav government on May 23. Belgrade's note to the Kremlin was phrased in the sharpest terms. It accused Russia of having transformed the Soviet-Yugoslav treaty of friendship into a scrap of paper and of intolerable double-dealing. Moscow's reply went even beyond the customary Cominform compliments, ending Yugoslavia's last hope of normal economic relations with its neighbors. On May 29 the Hungarian government expelled the Yugoslav reparations mission from Budapest. A few days later Prague broke off trade negotiations with Yugoslavia and ended all deliveries of goods to that country. Similar action had already been taken by Bulgaria and Albania. In Paris, Tito found himself abandoned by the Russians, who until then had sustained his claims in regard to Austria. But Belgrade's economic reorientation toward the West presents the Cominform with a dilemma. It must either admit failure in Yugoslavia or resort to measures impossible to reconcile with Moscow's present desire to maintain the Foreign Ministers' Council in existence. A coup in Belgrade would sweep away the modest advances made at Paris and set the world back to the worst period of 1948.

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THE KING CANUTES OF THE AMERICAN Medical Association have strategically withdrawn, in recent weeks, to somewhat higher ground, there to make a do-or-die stand against the rising seas of national health insurance. Apparently, the A. M. A. chieftains have learned that total resistance only invites the ocean in. The association is, accordingly, adopting a new and "liberal" line, composed by a husband-and-wife public-relations team whose fee is $100,000 a year; it is stifling those of its spokesmen who concentrated their diatribes on "socialistic" health insurance; it is winning headlines with an elaborate national program, all dressing and no meat, "for the advancement of medicine and public health"; it is trying to steal the thunder of those who advocate health-insurance legislation by "approving" lay-sponsored pre-payment health plans—while leaving final acceptance of such plans up to the same local and state medical societies that have so bitterly fought them in the past. In addition, the National Physicians' Committee, a virulent propaganda agency whose directorate was inter-

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locked with that of the A. M. A., has been dissolved. Despite all this, the Old Guard will deceive none but the uninitiated. Unquestionably, it has lost more friends than it has won by the shoddy manner in which it threw its spokesman, the embarrassing but faithful Dr. Morris Fishbein, to the wolves. Those who want to hasten the day when every American, no matter what his income, can get the treatment or operation he needs must now press the offensive.

*

SPEAKING OF DOCTORS, THERE IS A NEW development in the situation at the Farren Memorial Hospital in Greenfield, Massachusetts, which was reported in our issue of March 3. Readers will remember that four physicians were dismissed by that hospital after they had publicly endorsed legislation allowing doctors to give birth-control advice for the protection of life or health. Seeking to find some ground of agreement and a working basis upon which they might be reinstated, they met with the Farren officials a few weeks ago. One of them has told us of the events which followed: "We were informed, verbally, that we might be reinstated if we agreed to the following: not to resign immediately after reinstatement; to abide by the rules of the hospital; to announce that we regret our error, confess our wrong, and admit our mistake; to promise to make no public stand on birth control or kindred subjects which might be in opposition to the stand of the Roman Catholic church; to resign first if we contemplate taking such a stand; and to resign from the Planned Parenthood League and similar organizations. It was strongly implied, furthermore, that we were not to make *any* public statement or commit *any* public act without checking with the hospital authorities. Needless to say, none of us have accepted these terms."

Failure at Lausanne

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

CONFLICTING stories come out of Washington about President Truman's current attitude toward Israel. Most of them report that he is "reconsidering" his policy in the light of Israel's refusal to admit Arab refugees immediately. A few persons, fairly close to the President, insist that basically he has not changed, although he believes the Jewish state should make some concessions. Until the facts become known through a statement from the White House, comment must be guarded. But at least it should be said that if Mr. Truman accepts the view supported by Mark F. Ethridge, who resigned last week as American member of the United Nations Conciliation Commission, he will be led into a series of blunders which can benefit neither the countries of the Middle East nor the United States.

For the failure of the talks at Lausanne was not, as Mr. Ethridge has charged, due to Israel's refusal to make concessions. It was due to the decision of the Conciliation Commission to go beyond its mandate—which was strictly limited by the U. N. resolution of December 11 to assisting the Arab states and Israel to come together and negotiate terms of peace—by introducing new issues and new conditions. This procedure invited endless haggling and gave the Arabs the correct impression that they need no longer regard the armistice terms agreed upon through the mediation of Dr. Bunche as the basis of negotiations. They were offered a new chance to bargain for new gains, and they availed themselves of it gladly.

It was for this reason that the talks were deadlocked, and the question to ask is how it happened. Obviously, the French and Turkish members of the commission were basically unfriendly to the Israeli position and willing to see the armistice agreements tossed out of the window. As for Mr. Ethridge, whatever may be his virtues as a liberal and a newspaper publisher, he failed in Lausanne, as previously in Greece, to grasp the essentials of his job. He represented State Department rather than U. N. views, and cooperated, wittingly or not, with Messrs. Rusk and Wilkins in circumventing the resolution of December 11.

Considering the attitudes and behavior of the commission as a whole, a stalemate was certain to develop, and Mr. Ethridge's proposal that the Lausanne conversations be recessed to give Arabs and Jews a chance to "think things over" may be the best thing that now can happen. Left to themselves, the disputants might conceivably find a way to peace, although it will be much more difficult today than when the armistice agreements were signed. What should be done, of course, is to send to Lausanne a new and informed American member who could act in the spirit of Rhodes and the U. N. directive, not in that of the State Department and the British Foreign Office.

BUT this will not happen if Mr. Truman has really swallowed the Ethridge-Rusk version of recent events. If he has, we may expect delay and unrest in the Middle East, and a possible renewal of the war by the Arabs. For Israel will not yield to State Department pressure on the major points at issue—refugees, boundaries, and Jerusalem.

In the first place, Mr. Ethridge's charge that Israel has refused to make any concessions on the admission of Arab refugees is untrue by the record. Israel made an offer to take back some 230,000 Arabs, now crowded into the Gaza strip on the Palestine coast, provided the area is ceded to Israel. The strip, assigned to Egypt in

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the armistice negotiations, is of little value to either country although it cuts a narrow slice from Israel's coastline. The fact is, Israel can ill afford to absorb the miserable thousands who fled into Arab territory during the fighting: its economy is stretched beyond the limit to care for the immigration from the D. P. camps in Europe flooding in at the rate of 30,000 a month. Moreover, Israel does not feel responsible for the flight of the Arabs nor obligated to permit their return. They left under the instigation of the Mufti's agents, and while most of them are homeless victims of panic and pressure, a fair proportion are bitterly hostile to Israeli rule and would constitute an unassimilable mass even in peacetime. To expect Israel to take them in before peace has been signed, while the Arab states are still vowing eternal resistance and revenge, is wholly unreasonable. In my view, having seen the situation on the spot, the Israeli government was probably reckless to offer to accept 230,000 refugees—about half the total—even with the Gaza strip to provide a little territorial elbow room. This offer, together with the government's long-standing promise to compensate displaced Arabs for their lands and other property, can be brushed off as "no concession" only by people who are looking for ways to penalize the Jewish state for defeating its invaders.

On the question of Jerusalem, neither Jews nor Arabs want over-all United Nations control. The Israeli formula—a United Nations commission for the whole city with powers limited to the safeguarding and administration of the holy places, leaving the civil administration of the Arab and Jewish areas to Arab and Israel authorities respectively—seemed to offer a basis for a working compromise. The intervention of the Pope and his charge that Israel has permitted violations and damage to religious institutions created new difficulties. Israel, satisfied that it has done its best to protect the holy places, has asked the Vatican to send a commission of inquiry to Palestine to look into the matter. But meanwhile a decision hangs fire, and delay plays into the hands of the Arabs—a bitter irony, since in Jerusalem at least all the heavy damage to religious structures was done by the invading Arab legionaries. It is time to ask again what the Protestant churches have to say about this matter. Why should they allow the issues to be seized upon by Rome for its own purposes? Have Protestants no interest or share in the Christian holy places, no wish to influence the decisions as to how they can best be safeguarded?

As for the boundary problems raised at Lausanne and again the other day in Washington, they can be solved only as part of a general settlement which takes into account political realities. Washington seems to believe that the Israelis should give up a piece of land for every piece occupied by them in excess of the area allotted under the 1947 resolution. This is a view that has only the emptiest logic to recommend it. The tentative boundary lines laid out in the partition plan presumed an independent Arab state to which non-Jewish areas were allotted. The invasion of Palestine wiped out the possibility of creating such a state, along with the validity of the partition boundaries. The attitude adopted in Washington simply means that a double standard is in effect: Israel, which conformed to the terms of the resolution of November 29 and was the victim of Arab aggression, is to be denied territory which it won in repelling that aggression, while the aggressors are to be given territory as a reward for violating the resolution. Is President Truman prepared to take responsibility for a policy based on that doctrine?

Recession Progress

SINCE April there has been no doubt that we are in the downward phase of the business cycle. If in the spring the expected upturn in employment and production had taken place, the slackening would have been regarded as a minor dip such as occurred early in 1947 and 1948. But the down trend continued. Now the question becomes: how long will the recession last and how severe will it be? Experience shows that recessions can take almost any form. They can be severe and long, as from 1929 to 1933; severe and short, as from 1920 to 1922 and 1937 to 1938; or barely noticeable, as in 1924 and 1927.

So far, this decline is more comparable to that of 1924 and 1927 than to that of the crisis years. The increase in unemployment has resulted almost as much from the growth in population without corresponding industrial expansion as from the laying off of men. Of the 60,000,000 Americans who held jobs during the recent peak employment, 3,250,000, or 5.4 per cent, are now out of work—a lower figure than in the best years of the decade before the war. The fall of prices has been hesitant, to say the least. Although the decline on the New York Stock Exchange during the past few weeks has caused a mild sensation, speculation has not been active, and relatively minor amounts of money have been lost. There is no such shock to confidence or liquidity as occurred in both security and commodity markets in 1920 and 1929.

It is the direction, however, rather than the level of activity at any particular time that counts. Once started, a recession can develop self-intensifying forces. This one has already gone farther than most experts thought it would. How could we have a recession with a big armament program, an impending federal deficit, a tremendous base for the expansion of bank credit, unsatisfied demand for houses and automobiles, and an unprece-

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dented accumulation of liquid assets in the hands of both business and consumers? Less than six months ago the President was calling for anti-inflationary powers—which still may be needed, by the way, when this recession is over.

How we could have a recession has been made reasonably plain to anyone who can read and interpret the figures. When the economic fundamentalists sabotaged price control in 1946, they said that the way to stop inflation was to strengthen the profit incentive so as to increase production. Their timing was wrong, but they stopped inflation all right. They let inflation loose to burn itself out. The soaring prices restricted the demand of consumers and at the same time boosted profits so that production was expanded in almost every field as fast as was physically possible. The falling demand has now met and passed the rising supply in market after market. The results are being felt all over the world. The trouble with Senator Taft's inflation remedy is that it is the old boom-bust formula. It eventually equates demand and supply, but only for a moment; momentum carries the adjustment too far. Now the problem is to get demand back up again so that the supply may be sold.

As long as goods were scarce, prices went up. When they became plentiful, prices faltered. Business men stopped ordering so much; industries went on short time and began to lay off men. This in turn reduced consumers' purchasing power and contributed to the slackening of demand. Thus a downward spiral has been instituted to replace the upward spiral of inflation. It has to be checked somehow if the economy is not to sink into stagnation, with incalculable results all over the world.

In the past it has often been checked by the spontaneous action of business and consumers. Some people—a large percentage of the population—reduce their buying when prices are high because they just haven't the money. Some consumers do have extra funds or unused credit; they reduce their buying because they have all they absolutely need and decide to wait for lower prices. Most business men follow the same policy. At some point in a recession people are likely to think for one reason or another that prices are low enough and their stocks must be replenished. Then revival starts.

Business concerns which keep their prices up and curtail production—as some in textiles and many in the furniture industry are doing—merely prolong the recession and make it more severe. Consumers who have been priced out of the market cannot or will not buy enough to maintain full employment unless there is a readjustment of prices. To keep prices up and employment down generally would insure permanent depression. But there seems little likelihood that prices this time will fall as they did in 1921 or after 1929. A bottom for the price fall, not too far below present levels, is set by the fact that wages have been substantially increased and, in the presence of powerful unions, are not likely to be lowered.

What is necessary, if recession continues, is a combination of the policies which on page 703 of this issue Harold Loeb attributes on the one hand to Edwin G. Nourse and on the other to Leon Keyserling, both of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. We see no such conflict between these policies as Mr. Loeb discerns. There does need to be a readjustment among prices and incomes; no benefit whatever could occur if all prices and all incomes went up, or down, by exactly the same amount. The government can stimulate this readjustment by such measures as increased minimum wages and social security. Also, of course, almost all intelligent persons agree that deficit spending by government can help check a recession. From one point of view, the appearance of unemployment offers the government a welcome opportunity to supply the necessary things that only it can provide, and that we could not get during the period of scarcity. Public housing, schools, hospitals, roads, conservation, medical services—the list is almost endless. Unemployment is merely a negative name for reserve labor power which, put to work, can greatly increase our wealth and welfare.

Paris: Modest Triumph

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, June 16, by Air Mail

THE Big Four conference is coming to an end, and if any positive results are achieved, it will not be as a result of the public meetings held by the four ministers but of the private talks that began with Mr. Bevin's visit to Mr. Vishinsky on Saturday morning, June 11.

Let's face it. On the three items of the agenda openly discussed—German unity, Berlin, and the preparation of the peace treaty—no substantial progress could be made in public. If during the first week of the council the conversations were conducted in a fairly business-like way, things went from bad to worse during the second and third weeks, and whether or not it is true that Mr. Acheson "provoked" Mr. Vishinsky, the discussions degenerated, at the public sessions, into a series of propaganda speeches and propaganda maneuvers on both sides. Vishinsky, who at first approached the conference with the clear suggestion that a small economic *modus vivendi* was all he was hoping to achieve, found himself obliged, partly in answer to Mr. Acheson's tirades and partly to reassure the German Communists, who had been greatly taken aback by his initial speech at the Paris conference, to assume his old-time role of champion of Ger-

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man democracy, German unity, and the liberation of Germany from foreign troops—which, he said, were being denied the Germans by the Western powers. He pressed for rapid steps toward a peace treaty with Germany, and said that all occupation troops should be withdrawn within a year of the signing of the peace treaty. Mr. Bevin, at the open session on Sunday, described the Vishinsky statement as "a tragic farce," and Mr. Acheson said it was as full of propaganda as a dog was full of fleas—in fact, it was all fleas and no dog.

None of this, however, got us any nearer a solution of the German problem. The only important contribution was Mr. Bevin's categorical statement that the British government was not going to take part in any eyewash for the benefit of the Germans, and that the occupation of Germany would continue as long as the conditions of complete security had not been fulfilled. The French naturally fully approved of this line.

Mr. Bevin did agree, however, "to advise His Majesty's Government to get experts to examine Mr. Vishinsky's peace-treaty proposals. When a date is fixed through diplomatic channels for another Council of Foreign Ministers, we may come to another conference in a better atmosphere and arrive at a better understanding in order to establish a truly democratic Germany." Words, words, words—one might say. But not entirely empty words for all that. It is quite true that during the first two weeks of futile discussion at the conference Mr. Bevin said practically nothing; what was the good? He knew from the start that no agreement would or could be reached on German unity or Berlin—along the lines proposed by the Western powers. But it seems that during his meeting with Vishinsky on Saturday he followed up his Blackpool speech about "living side by side" with the Russians even without any hard-and-fast agreement. And we then found a somewhat novel situation in which Acheson, despite all the hopes entertained by the Russians that "he would not be another Marshall," was telling the Russians—as they interpreted his words—that they should "get the hell out of Germany and out of Berlin" (which majority control on the Kommandatura would in fact have meant), while Bevin and Schuman were prepared to consider a *modus vivendi*, or at any rate some face-saving device which would create a feeling of continuity in the four-power talks and prevent the present session from ending in a general bust-up. Later, Acheson, under the influence, it is said, of Jessup, who is believed to reflect the President's personal views, came partly around to this view, too.

Blackpool has had a curious effect on the Russians. Bevin, until recently, was to them the personification of all evil. But the illusions the Russians long entertained that Zilliacus could lead a revolt against Bevin have vanished, and the unanimous support Bevin received at Blackpool has impressed them. So they have now decided that they can come to terms with him, or, to use the all too fashionable phrase, reach a *modus vivendi,* and should not hope any more for a Zilliacus-led rebellion. Whoever has been informing them of the power of the back-benchers for so many years must have been hauled over the coals. Being realists, the Russians see now that there is no alternative to the Bevin policy and have decided to accommodate themselves to it. It is perhaps a healthy development, since it rids the Russian attitude to Britain of that element of gambling and speculation which existed before.

IF ACHESON, as they say, has been telling them to "get the hell out of Germany," they know that in fact all the Western powers, but Britain and France rather more than America, have accepted the de facto partition and lasting occupation of Germany, and that with the Germans in their present mood this may be all to the good from the Russian point of view. Russians and Westerners alike are paying lip-service to a democratic, united Germany, but both sides know that it is not possible, and that the occupation must go on. In their hearts, though they try to sound very upset about it, the Russians also know that Acheson does not seriously consider the possibility of throwing them out of Germany.

As I write, it is not very clear whether some sort of German economic organ to coordinate trade between East and West can be set up without at the same time settling the problem of the dual currency in Berlin, but work is being done in that direction. A closely connected problem is whether arrangements can be made for improving Western communications with Berlin. Perhaps the only decisions taken will be some having what the French press today calls "psychological value," suggesting that the four-power conversations on Germany will be resumed before very long. Perhaps it was to make a resumption of talks easier that other seemingly urgent problems like China, Japan, and Greece have scarcely been touched upon at this meeting. The Russians apparently believe that there is no desperate hurry to reach a general agreement since time is working in their favor, if only because western Germany must sooner or later get markets in the east or bust.

What the Big Four are working on now is short-term objectives which may prove a valuable basis for building a long-term agreement later. If this meeting succeeds in reaching a limited economic agreement, the *détente* will be prolonged for several months at least. The latest information shows that real progress has been made on the Austrian question and that there will be a preliminary agreement on an Austrian peace treaty if a limited economic agreement on Germany can be reached. It seems that the Russians are no longer supporting Yugoslav territorial claims—they never seriously

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did, except as a bargaining counter—and that on the thorny question of German assets they are prepared to meet the Western powers halfway. An agreement on Austria, implying the withdrawal of all occupation troops, would be the clearest indication that neither side anticipates a war in Europe in any foreseeable future, for Austria would of course be of the greatest strategic value to both sides. There is much talk of the Big Four meeting again in New York in September, at the time of the United Nations Assembly. September is also spoken of as the month when the Austrian peace treaty may be finally concluded. There is at least the prospect that a rather better atmosphere in Europe will emerge from this meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers, even with Germany remaining virtually partitioned. Perhaps tacitly both sides agree that this is the least dangerous solution for the present.

POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

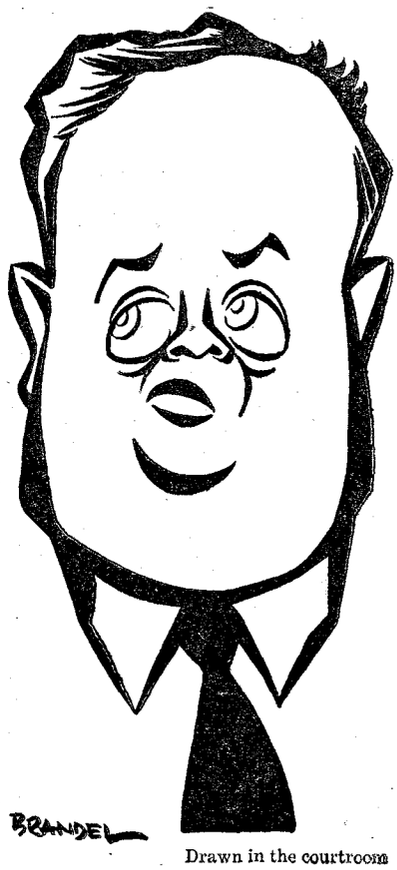
The Trial of Alger Hiss—II

Foley Square, New York, June 17

NOW that the United States has completed its case against Alger Hiss, the nature of the drama changes abruptly. Up to now the trial has been Lloyd Paul Stryker's struggle to keep the government spider from spinning a fatal web about his necessarily silent and unresisting client. Nothing that sardonic and skilful lawyer could do, of course, would have prevented a web of some sort from being spun; the remainder of the trial, therefore, must be a testing of its strength. It is now for the victim himself to break the web, strand by strand, or be destroyed in the effort.

Details of the prosecution have been too widely publicized to warrant detailed recounting here, but a summary might be in order. It was the task of Thomas F. Murphy, Assistant United States Attorney, to prove two charges: that Hiss lied when he told the grand jury he had never given confidential government documents to Whittaker Chambers; and that he lied when he told the same body that he had not even seen Chambers since January 1, 1937.

At the very outset of the trial the towering prosecutor told the jury, perhaps rashly: "If you don't believe Chambers, then we have no case." Actually he has paraded thirty-three witnesses before the court, but except for Mrs. Chambers, the purpose of their testimony has been to corroborate the story of the government's star witness. Their evidence, moreover, has been circumstantial rather than direct. That is, none of them has said that he saw Hiss and Chambers together after the crucial date or that he had direct knowledge of the transfer of the documents. This is not to minimize their testimony at all, but merely to point out that for the jury the issue is still whether or not Chambers and his wife are to be believed. On the government's side, excluding what may emerge from the cross-examination of Hiss himself, here is what the jury will have to go on:



Drawn in the courtroom
Whittaker Chambers

1. The impossibility of writing off the whole Chambers story as the figment of a distorted mind. To do so is obviously to attribute to Mrs. Chambers not only the same disease but, miraculously, the same fantasy. Either that or a perjury on her part which would be utterly without purpose or meaning.

2. Corroborative testimony which lends support to the Chambers story, though by no means giving it conclusive proof. Thus Chambers claimed that Hiss gave him $400 toward the purchase of a car, and a Washington bank vice-president later testified that four days before the car was bought Mrs. Hiss did in fact withdraw $400 from a joint account she had with her husband, leaving a balance of only $40.46. On the day Chambers placed the Hisses and himself in Peterboro, New Hampshire, State Department records show that Hiss was in fact on leave of absence. An incident in Chambers's story was that through him the Soviet Union had presented Hiss with a rug as a token of gratitude. Testimony from the rug dealer and from Professor Meyer Schapiro, who according to Chambers had made the selection, at least lent color to the story, as did the sales slip and canceled check. A school official testified to the typing proficiency of Mrs. Hiss, who, Chambers had testified, typed out copies of the documents in question.

3. The wealth of detail in Mrs. Chambers's testimony, particularly her descriptions of the interior of the Volta Place house, to which the Hisses moved late in December of 1937. An artist, presumably with an eye for detail, she spoke of the "plum-colored drapes" and the Hitchcock chairs in the dining-room, with their "gilt stenciling

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on the rungs." In contradiction to Hiss's testimony before the House Un-American Affairs Committee and the grand jury, she told at length of the close social life shared by the two couples—of ten days spent along the Delaware, with Mrs. Chambers painting landscapes while her friend "Pross" minded the children; of a wedding anniversary celebrated by the four of them at the Chambers apartment, champagne by courtesy of the Hisses; of her embarrassment on one occasion when her child wet the rug in the Hiss home and the hostess came to her rescue with "a very lovely old linen towel to use as a diaper."

4. The opinion of an FBI expert that the copies of the government documents surrendered by Chambers came from the same typewriter as certain family correspondence acknowledged by the defense to have been written on the Hisses' machine. Individual letters appeared to conform, nick for nick and serif for serif, and the government expert was not even challenged by the defense. Of the forty-seven State Department documents introduced in evidence by the government, all but five were shown to have passed through Hiss's office early in 1938. It should be noted, however, that they passed through many other offices as well, with some 236 persons having access to them en route.

Drawn in the courtroom
Alger Hiss

5. Four handwritten memoranda concerning government documents which Chambers says were given to him by the defendant. Hiss has admitted that three of these "appear to be in my handwriting" and the fourth "may or may not be." Particularly queer is the memorandum concerning the case of Rubens, a one-time Soviet agent, which could hardly have been a matter of interest to Hiss in connection with his official duties.

OFFSETTING the government's case, however, even before the defense launched its own arguments, were several aspects of the Chambers story difficult to credit. To accept the prosecution's story in its entirety, a jury would have to believe:

1. That in spite of four years of supposed intimacy between the Hisses and the Chambers, not one person can be located by the government to testify that they were seen together—in the house on the Delaware, at Peterboro, at a movie in Baltimore, or at Mt. Vernon, where the two women purportedly went to see the magnolias in bloom. Mrs. Chambers testified that she and Mrs. Hiss once went to a Dr. Nicholson in Baltimore and that he examined her child as well as her alleged friend's. Yet for some unaccountable reason neither the prosecution nor the defense chose to follow up this lead.

2. That the Hisses traveled all the way from Washington to Peterboro with Chambers only to see a summer stock performance of "She Stoops to Conquer." Testimony is that they sat in the car while Chambers paid a visit to Harry Dexter White. Moreover, there is no record of their signatures on the register of the guest house at which they are supposed to have spent the night.

3. That when Chambers called on Hiss in December, 1938, to induce him to break with the Communist Party, he feared an ambush; that he believed men were lying in wait for him even though he was not expected and had not been to the house in at least seven months; and that while he believed his former comrade capable of having him kidnapped or murdered, he stayed to supper.

4. That in spite of their intimacy the Hisses knew the Chamberses only as "Carl" and "Liza" and had no last name for them at all.

The jury would also have to be willing to ascribe the wobbliness of Mrs. Chambers's testimony on dates to the natural confusion of memory after a period of twelve years and to the hectoring nature of Mr. Stryker's cross-examination. An important aspect of this lapse, however, is that while she vacillated between December, 1936, and December, 1937, as the date of a New Year's party with the Hisses, she did not yield in her insistence that she had visited the Volta Place house, whatever the occasion. And that visit could only have taken place long after the date around which the first perjury charge revolves.

More important, a convicting jury would have to blink the seven instances of perjury admittedly committed by Chambers under previous oaths. To get around this, Mr. Murphy will have to do what apparently he has not yet been willing to do, namely, convince the jury that even though Chambers committed all manner of sins as a Communist, he did not do so out of moral depravity. Murphy would have to echo the judgment of Mrs. Chambers that "if he [Chambers] believed as he did, he was right . . . to act on his beliefs." That is not a fashionable thesis these days—especially among government prosecutors. But he might at least argue that twice in his career Chambers deliberately rejected material success for the sake of a conviction—once when, as a brilliant young man, he chose the hard life of a revolutionary in preference to the easy road which his talents assured him, and once when, as a "rehabilitated" man of middle age, he sacrificed a $30,000-a-year job, hopelessly spreading his own dark past across the front pages of the country, out of some inner compulsion. Or would this, above all else, convince a jury of the man's irrationality?

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America, Good and Bad

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

I. Power, Leadership, and Fear

[Professor Laski recently visited this country to lecture in various universities under the auspices of the Hillman Foundation created by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. From what he saw and heard during that trip he has appraised the state of this nation in five almost painfully revealing articles. The second, to appear next week, will deal with trade unions and political parties, press and privacy and the growing influence of the Roman Catholic church.]

London

TWO overwhelming impressions strike any European observer of the American scene. The first is the massive power at America's command; the second is the fear and suspicion of all who doubt the right of that immense power to set the categories of thought and action for the rest of the world. I suppose every great nation is full of contradictions. Alongside great wealth the sight of devastating poverty is inescapable. Alongside magistral self-confidence it is easy to detect a skepticism closely related to self-distrust. Americans are friendly and arrogant, generous and hard, democratic and anti-democratic, eager to hear about themselves and morbidly sensitive to unfavorable criticism, profoundly simple and extraordinarily complicated. They love anyone who is a "character," and yet dislike the man who diverges from the uniformities that are respected. They have a profound belief that America is "different," and yet a growing realization that it is part of, and deeply affected by, a world the scale and proportions of which shrink daily before our eyes. They have a new sense of the immense authority they exercise, while at the same time they feel an inner doubt whether they have the experience and the responsibility to exercise it at the level which has now become an urgent matter for all of us all over the world.

No one can attempt to summarize American politics in a formula. When Mr. Truman won his remarkable victory in 1948 and gained a majority in both houses of Congress, it seemed natural to assume that "liberal" America had won a great triumph over the America of reaction. It is, as yet, far from certain that this is the case. In the first five months since he became President in his own right, there are not many signs of a perspective different, except in degree, from that of the Republican Congress elected in 1946. The President has had a resounding defeat in his attempt to get the Taft-Hartley act repealed. The powerful real-estate lobby has not been checked in its effort to take over the control of housing in the interests of landlords. Though there are new faces in the defense departments, it is at least doubtful whether the power of the Pentagon has diminished. With the end of the Berlin blockade Mr. Acheson has been given a great opportunity to outline a new policy for peace, but it is still anyone's guess whether the resumed meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers has actually moved toward a real hope of peace. Nobody can say, if he is honest, whether the Atlantic Pact and the provisional creation of a separate West German state were wise or unwise steps. Nobody knows when or how the United States will achieve an effective policy in the Far East generally and in China in particular. It is difficult not to be disturbed by the growing anxiety of the American government to resume official relations with Franco Spain, and by the ease with which it is settling down to the position—taken over from Great Britain—of permanent patron of the foul government of Greece. Rearmament proceeds upon an immense scale, and the Atlantic allies of the United States, together with Turkey, are not only encouraged to rearm themselves but to look to America for help in their effort. No progress is visible in the search for means to internationalize the control of atomic energy. Save in the prospect opened by the end of the Berlin blockade, it is hard to see any signs of an end to the "cold war." J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI are still allowed to run amok all over the United States; and though there are brave voices raised in protest, witch-hunting and intolerance are as widespread, though not, I think, as profound, as they were in the evil days of 1919-20, under Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer.

The two solid gains are unmistakable. The first is the fear of a depression on the scale of 1929; and the second is the recognition that depressions of this character are made by men and can be prevented by men. Here, certainly, the lesson of Franklin Roosevelt's Presidency has sunk deep into the American consciousness; neither political nor business leaders would dare again hoist the flag of "rugged individualism." America has entered consciously, if in a somewhat shamefaced way, into the era of the welfare state. Social security has come to stay. Despite temporary opposition, it is only a question of time before other great power projects, the Missouri Valley Authority, for example, begin to emulate the TVA. It is unlikely that the tycoons of the Harding-Coolidge epoch will be able, as they had hoped, to take over American tidal oil for private gain. If the employers do not like the trade unions any better today

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than they did before 1933, they seem more reconciled to accepting them as the inevitable accompaniment of giant industry. The fact, moreover, that the war overwhelmingly proved the importance of technological advance has led to an increasing belief in the need to encourage science in all its forms. With that belief has come a renewal of faith in education effected by the experience of hundreds of thousands of veterans to whom the federal grant for training has brought new hope and the sense of great adventures of which they were previously unaware. With all its ugliness and its tragedy, the war has brought to Americans—if they have the wisdom to seize it—the prospect of a step forward which may give them that moral leadership out of which the world could wrest the chance of making secure the foundations of civilization.

IF THEY have the wisdom to seize it—that is the immense question mark attached to all American prospects. For it remains true that, despite the good-will and magnanimity and experimentalism in the United States, the forces of reaction there are far better organized than the forces of progress. In few modern societies is thinking less bold or the organs of communication so inadequate. Rarely has the art of reflection been so little cultivated in comparison with the art of action. Americans, moreover, are not a steady people in the sense in which the British are steady; they rush into moods of exalted optimism as they fall much too readily into moods of profound despair. They are still prone to assume that physical growth is spiritual development and that the practical man who has made a success in business can make a success of anything. They are still so convinced that the "American way of life" is vastly superior to any other that they are impatient, even intolerant, of those who do not instantly perceive its superiority. They are easily disillusioned, and that leads them to underestimate the difficulty of organizing human relationships. They have still to learn that their faith in progress is the product of their own quite special historical circumstances, and that while it may be emotionally satisfying, it is often intellectually sterile because it is rarely tested by critical standards. They have still to be persuaded that in politics the separation of powers may result in a confusion of powers, as they have still to realize that with the increasing complexity of political issues it becomes ever more dangerous to make the Presidency a lottery in which, if at one time the winner is Jefferson or Lincoln or Franklin Roosevelt, at another it is Franklin Pierce or Warren Harding or Calvin Coolidge. Not least, they should have outgrown the belief that, given the magic of the Constitution and the power of rhetoric, all difficult problems can be reduced to simple slogans which will instruct the elector without hard intellectual effort on his part.

Many observers have noted that Americans have a passion for oratory. Too few have emphasized that great oratory is rare, and that when it is not great it tends to become a collection of platitudes which offer the audience a dangerous choice between absolutes only too often represented as ethical alternatives. If you are not for America, you must be for Russia. If you are not for "free enterprise," you must be for the dictatorship of the proletariat. If you hesitate to cast your vote for President Truman or Governor Dewey, you must be for Mr. Wallace, which is almost the same as being a fellow-traveler. If you dislike "secret diplomacy," then you must recognize the value of Drew Pearson's revelations. In this connection too few Americans remember that the Founding Fathers wrote the Constitution in secret, and that it is unlikely they would have succeeded if each day's report had been subject to the relentless scrutiny of the modern gossip columnist. It is one of the serious problems that have accompanied the arrival of American diplomats on the world stage that privacy in negotiation becomes ever less attainable. In most international conferences Americans assume that the bigger the headline the bigger their victory; and no one can mistake the fact that they are rapidly persuading the politicians of most countries to speak for the newspapers rather than to elucidate the subject for the discussion of which they have gathered. A meeting at Lake Success would be almost a failure if Hector McNeil refused to compete with Andrei Gromyko in the noisy art of irrelevant invective.

TO ALL this must be added two other features of growing importance in the American political scene. The first is the significance of the Presidential confidant who, though he holds neither elected nor appointed office, has the authority to engage in transactions of obviously momentous importance. The role of Colonel House in the First World War was significant enough in all conscience, but it pales beside the role played in the Second by Harry Hopkins. No one in Great Britain is likely to underestimate the immense value of the services rendered by both men to the cause in which the governments of Great Britain and the United States were partners. But in each case it must be noted that the President's *éminence grise* was chosen for the part he played for reasons which were mainly unknown until eventually, as in Robert Sherwood's superb portrait, they were made available to the ordinary citizen. It is evident from Mr. Sherwood's book that Mr. Hopkins was invaluable to President Roosevelt. But the nature of the relationship, with its expression in understandings which, however vital, remain private in character even though public in consequence, is clearly disturbing. In the context of the war effort Mr. Hopkins was a Presidential servant of selfless devotion, but it is not difficult to think of other men who if chosen by the President for similar functions

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might have been unwilling to subordinate their own personalities in the same degree to the President's needs. It is, moreover, obvious that this situation calls for a self-restraint on the part of Cabinet officers and of Congressional leaders which will not always be forthcoming. Even though the President remains responsible for the executive conduct of affairs, there is a danger here of split responsibility, especially in foreign relations, which may easily result in grave misunderstanding.

The other feature is related to the first. There is a growing tendency in the federal government of the United States to create special agencies of an *ad hoc* character which are not directly related to the normal framework of administration and live by standards they themselves establish. Sometimes their specialized character is explained by their function; this is obviously the case, for example, with the Tennessee Valley Authority. Sometimes their special character can be explained by the fact that they are intended to meet a temporary emergency. Usually their directors have had little or no experience of public life and consequently fail to establish with Congress and its committees a relationship of the desirable simplicity and strength. Moreover, the President, even if he be an administrator of supreme quality, can achieve little real or direct knowledge of their operation. Few of those he appoints to agencies of this kind stay for long. The salaries are seldom large enough to attract or hold important business men; when they do consent to serve, they often find the need to cooperate rather than command a matter of considerable difficulty.

The temporary agencies apart, such bodies should have a stable membership if a full knowledge of their technique is to be the basis of policy making and their work is to be properly integrated with that of the Cabinet departments. It is obvious, to take a simple example, that, without continuity of civilian personnel, the Atomic Energy Commission would, on its defense side, inevitably become the mere creature of the Pentagon and on its non-military side run the serious risk of finding its authority undermined by pressure groups able to command the service of experts with whom neither its members nor their subordinates would be able to compete. The problem, under these circumstances, of making an effective case before the appropriate committees of Congress may easily become a very grave one, and unless the President can throw all his weight behind it, irreparable mistakes may be made. It is not easy to forgive the kind of ineptitude that led Congress to destroy, in the National Resources Planning Board, a body which seemed likely to develop the stature of the Geological Survey or the Bureau of Standards.

No Depression If—

BY HAROLD LOEB

THE United States stands today before a fork in the road of national economic policy. One signpost says: "Modified Free Enterprise." The other points toward "State Controls." The advocates of controls maintain that free enterprise leads inevitably to mass unemployment. Their opponents assert that state controls induce economic stagnation. There is little time left for decision: production and employment drop lower each month in state after state.

The debate goes on in many places—in homes, college classrooms, union headquarters, and business sanctums. It is intense in Congress and the responsible bureaus of government. It centers about the desks of Chairman Edwin G. Nourse of the Council of Economic Advisers, Vice-Chairman Leon G. Keyserling, and John D. Clark, the third member. Public opinion would be more confident that the right choice would be made if these experts did not differ so fundamentally. The issues and alternatives confronting the government can really be defined through the conflicting views of these three men.

The council was set up by the Employment Act of 1946, which directed the federal government "to use all practical means . . . to promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power." It reports directly to the President and was instructed to submit recommendations at frequent intervals as to how to achieve the objectives of the act.

Since the council was created to assist the President, its internal disagreements are ironed out before its recommendations are made public. Yet if one reads between the lines of its reports and talks with its members, one perceives that two different approaches are advocated. In some parts of the reports the fiscal policy known as "compensatory spending" is recommended, a policy that would sustain free enterprise. In other parts state controls are requested in order to achieve "balances" between prices, wages, and profits, between business and consumer incomes, between farm prices and industrial prices, and even between the incomes of individuals. Perhaps the council favors both approaches.

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They are not in practice mutually exclusive, although they derive from different economic theories. For example, should mandatory controls fail, and inflation or deflation follow, the council could try compensatory spending—or in the opposite order.

Seligson

Leon Keyserling

Mr. Nourse was formerly director of Brookings Institution. In 1934 he and and I, independently, made a survey of America's capacity to produce.* My estimate was higher than his by some 40 per cent. The war record suggests that both of us were too conservative. Mr. Nourse's present task, however, is not to measure capacity but to see that it is used. When I went to see him the other day in his office in the old State Department building, he talked of the necessity of balancing the economy. "We have to weigh with utmost nicety the needs of military preparedness against the possibilities of carrying on business as usual, and the rate at which we can make social and cultural progress." By this he meant that only so much could be produced in a year. If military expenditures were increased, social objectives, however desirable, might have to be postponed. And if expanding military requirements increased or renewed inflationary pressures, offsetting measures would be required—higher taxes, larger savings, tighter credit, and so forth. Only if these proved insufficient, would "direct controls be needed." Such controls, he said, especially if continued for some years, would present a two-pronged danger. On the one hand they might become "habit-forming and develop the spirit of acceptance of authority"; on the other hand they might stimulate "evasion or defiance of constituted authority."

When I asked him what he would advise if the situation became one of deflation, of deficient purchasing power, instead of its opposite, he pointed out that the level of defense expenditures for which the President and the Congress had made provision tended to ward off or defer this danger. But he agreed that government deficit financing would be helpful if such a situation arose. As the President's Economic Report stated, "the government should operate at a substantial surplus during a period of unparalleled prosperity when inflationary pressures persist. This is essential not only to deal sensibly with the current situation but also to permit fiscal policy to be reversed if recessionary trends should later develop which might call both for tax reductions to stimulate business and markets and for additional public expenditures." Fiscal measures, according to Nourse, constitute the first line of defense. Selective state controls—over prices, allocations, etc.—should be exercised as a last resort.

MR. KEYSERLING, when I talked with him, emphasized the value of preventive action. He would like "broad and flexible policy instruments" with which to act before inflation or deflation gets under way. As he put it in a recent address, "These might be called stabilization devices, for their essential character is that they are pertinent to a period where a selective mixture is needed because we want to act preventively against forces tugging in more than one direction before we reach a galloping inflation or a devastating deflation." Bemused by the problem of acting "preventively against forces tugging in more than one direction," I went to his statement of last February before the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report. In this he made a significant admission: "To be sure, a drastic contraction of the money supply would bring prices and incomes downward, but it would also drive employment and production downward." And he added: "Those who propose this remedy admit its result."

But no one proposes this remedy. What is proposed, and what Nourse undoubtedly had in mind, is a non-drastic contraction of the money supply, a contraction calculated to remove excess purchasing power. The fact that a drastic contraction would drive production downward does not mean that a less drastic contraction would do so. In fact, we know from the President's Report that the government withdrew by taxation 6.7 billion dollars in 1947 and 14.8 billion dollars in 1948 more than it spent, and used the dollars to retire debt, thereby in effect canceling them. Since this subtraction was only in part neutralized by an increase in private debt, it must be supposed that it served to reduce purchasing power. And most economists believe that reduction of purchasing power was an important factor in halting inflation.

Probably Keyserling dismissed the use of fiscal measures so peremptorily, despite their inclusion in the President's Report, because he prefers another approach. At any rate he explained to Congress: "This turns our primary attention away from any arbitrary or absolute level of prices and wages and other incomes, and focuses our interest instead upon the *relationships* among various types of income as these are affected by prices and wages and national policy. For it is the relationships rather than the absolutes which determine mainly whether our economy can continue along a path of stable growth." As I understand it, he was saying: "Let's stop worrying about the price level. You cannot bring it

* "America's Capacity to Produce," by Edwin G. Nourse. "The Chart of Plenty," by Harold Loeb and Associates.

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down without bringing down production and employment, too. Instead, let us concentrate upon the relationships of one price to another. By adjusting them in accordance with our considered judgment, both inflation and deflation can be prevented."

This position is nearly opposite to that of Nourse. Nourse believes that prices, even in an administered price system, are sufficiently flexible to keep the multitudinous items which constitute the national income in economic balance. The council's role, as he sees it, is to keep tabs on what Keyserling calls the "absolute quantities." Sometimes too much money is created, as during the war. Then the council should recommend new taxes to remove the excess. Sometimes the government and private business men pay off their debts too fast—save more than they invest. Prices and profits fall. Production drops. The government then should arrest the deflation by lowering taxes or by spending new money on public works held in reserve for just this contingency.

Keyserling has no such confidence in the mechanism of the free market. Therefore he wishes to use the coercive power of the government to cut back prices that are considered too high and to prevent others from rising. Nor does he believe that profit can be relied on to stimulate investment where needed, but recommends that the government intervene when, in the judgment of the council, private enterprise is laggard.

His position can best be summarized by listing the conditions he proposes to rectify. These are as follows: (1) More than a fifth of the population are unable to maintain a reasonably adequate living standard. (According to the council's figures, the real income of the poorest fifth has risen 41.6 per cent and that of the richest fifth some 18.39 per cent between 1941 and 1947.) (2) Since the middle of 1946 farm prices have risen 22 per cent, industrial prices 45 per cent. (But farm prices rose 175 per cent and other prices 91 per cent between 1939 and 1946. Also industrial prices have been dropping faster than farm prices in 1949, though this reversal was not apparent in February.) (3) The prices of metals, metal products, fuel, lighting materials, and house furnishings have been rising disproportionately. (This trend, too, has been reversed since the council's report was prepared.) (4) Consumer expenditures are low in relation to investment. (5) Corporation profits are higher than needed to maintain current levels of business investment. (This statement seems questionable, since private investment is scheduled to drop off in the second half of 1949.) (6) Some basic industries are not increasing their capacity sufficiently to attain the production levels required for the growth of a maximum employment economy. (Keyserling had in mind steel, non-ferrous metals, electricity, and other products, all of which are now in ample supply and several of which are operating at less than capacity.)

This list of so-called maladjustments indicates why Keyserling dismissed the possibility of stabilizing the economy by fiscal or other general measures. Obviously general measures will not suffice to reduce investment and at the same time increase steel and power capacity; or to reduce the price of steel, copper, and the like and sustain the price of farm products. To accomplish such objectives, selective controls applied at particular points are required. Various selective controls were therefore recommended to Congress by Keyserling and Clark. These included price controls, mandatory allocations, maintenance of farm prices, postponement of industrial price advances by enforced breathing spells during which public hearings would be held, subsidies for high-cost producers of scarce metals, and an increase in steel capacity, to be achieved, if necessary, by government construction of plants.

Such a program is not socialistic—only in certain very special situations is government ownership recommended. It resembles rather the controlled system of many European governments which, faced by shortages, maintain an unbalanced economy by regulating prices and wages. However, the proposals transcended the needs of last February. Inflation had already lost its impetus. Most consumer goods were available in excess of demanded quantities, and the pressure on steel was visibly lessening.

Seligson

Edwin A. Nourse

In pushing this program Keyserling, aided by Clark, must have had more in mind than the stabilization of the economy. Presumably they were taking into consideration the President's plans for housing, urban improvement, river-valley development, education, health, and old-age, disability, and unemployment insurance. If the cost of these welfare measures were added to that of European aid and military expansion, expenditures might greatly exceed receipts. And if a large deficit were sustained long enough another inflationary spiral could conceivably be started. When I asked Clark about this possibility, he remarked that social measures could be put through more easily in times of prosperity.

It is doubtful that history supports this judgment. Certainly the New Deal reforms were not accomplished

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during a boom. During prosperity there are few surpluses to divert to desired objectives. When employment is full, nothing can be accomplished without taking away from something else. During a depression millions of men and vast quantities of machinery stand idle, waiting to be put to work. At such times slum clearance and other socially desirable projects utilize energies which would otherwise be wasted. Not only is the economy stabilized but the community is enriched.

Evidently Keyserling and Clark would like to go ahead with social reforms regardless of the relation between federal revenues and receipts. Should an excess of expenditures raise demand over supply, they propose to use explicit controls to prevent price rises. Presumably they would not be worried if state controls superseded market decisions in vast sectors of the economy. There is no other way to account for their advocacy of controls when the need for controls no longer exists.

A PROGRAM which proposes in February to move against trends that have reversed themselves by March does not inspire confidence. But behind this superficial objection lies something more fundamental. Government interventions in the market are no novelty. Tariffs have sustained many a weak industry, and there have been floors under farm products for years. Nevertheless, the elimination of price flexibility and consequently of price competition seems to have removed a dynamic factor from the fields in which it has been tried. In railroading, for example, prices are regulated, and the railroad industry has been faltering for several decades. Should price controls be extended to wider reaches of the economy, the growth impulse, which everyone is anxious to nourish, might gradually wither away.

Nourse would not have controls replace the mechanism of the market in the matter of the price relations among products. In this area the market seems to accomplish its purpose, a little slowly perhaps but none the less surely. Even aluminum, which used to be produced by what amounted to a monopoly, has reacted to the advance in productivity by repeatedly falling in price. Sooner or later market prices reflect changes in technology and consumer taste. Nourse, however, does not rely on the market for "cyclical adjustments"; price changes do not equate over-all supply and demand quickly enough to avoid pernicious declines in production. Consequently he accepts the desirability of federal intervention in the business cycle. But he believes that free enterprise would be given a new lease of life if the government by appropriate fiscal measures limited the downswings and upswings of this so-called cycle without arresting price flexibility. It is the fear of the downswing which holds back investment. If this fear is reduced, there is no reason why the past extraordinary rate of growth of the United States should not continue.

Furthermore, many social reforms could be achieved without cost during periods of compensatory spending. The utilization of men and resources which otherwise would be idle is a real economy, not an expense. Thus Nourse's instrument of compensatory spending promises not only to eliminate the misery and waste of depression but also to make possible the accomplishment of generous social objectives.

In the Wind

"STEADY, BOY," said the Wind. "What's up?" "The thermometer's rising; the market is falling; my head is spinning," said the Candle.

"Keep cool," said the Wind. "Mr. E. B. Gallaher, editor of the *Clover Business Letter*, published by the Clover Manufacturing Company of Norwalk, Connecticut, wants us to know that 'the anticipated recession has become a fact and is progressing in an orderly fashion, which is all to the good.' "

"Glad to hear it," said the Candle. "But may I call your attention to the remarks of Anthony B. Meany, lecturer and author? Mr. Meany tells us 'the . . . radio arrived in 1928: the following year. . .business collapsed.' Now then, he asks, is television 'a Frankenstein' which will promote 'industrial suicide'?"

"I won't answer that question, Senator," said the Wind. "But I'll ask you this one: What is capitalism?"

"May I quote from Agnes M. Cleaveland's 'American Primer,' published by the National Industrial Conference Board?" asked the Candle.

"Please do."

"Well, then. 'Capitalism is the science of the use of capital.' What is capital? 'Capital is the product resulting from the exercise of four spiritual qualities: initiative, industry, honesty, and self-restraint.' Why, I feel cooler already."

"Yes, that's very moving," said the Wind. "It brings to mind an advertisement I saw recently in the Chicago *Sun-Times*. 'State Street Congratulates Bond's on the Opening of Its Beautiful New Store,' it said; '. . . a new addition to the State Street tradition of progressive merchandising and service, of responsibility and high standards, of deserved business eminence.' "

"Oi," said the Candle. "I'm feeling woozy again. Didn't you see this news story in the same edition of the same paper: 'The Federal Trade Commission Sunday accused Bond Stores, Inc., of operating two phony "missing heirs" agencies to catch unsuspecting customers who fail to meet their instalment payments for clothes. . . . The commission ordered Bond to stop the "unfair and deceptive" practices.' "

"I . . . uh . . . missed it," said the Wind, "because I was wearing my dark glasses."

"Well, take them off," said the Candle. "Dr. J. G. Louw of Cape Town, South Africa, has reached the conclusion that dark glasses are 'a refuge of the neurotic.' They are used, he says, 'to avoid the appraising gaze of the outside world.' "

"Oh, dear," said the Wind. "It is warm. I think I'll just lie here in the shade and sip iced coffee."

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Manchurian Mystery

BY ANDREW ROTH

I. What Did the Russians Leave?

Peiping-Shanghai-Hongkong

THERE are few mysteries in the "mysterious East" which it would be more useful to solve than that of Manchuria. With twice the area of France and as large a population, Manchuria is the key to China's industrialization and also to future Sino-Soviet relations. Yet it is extremely difficult to piece together an objective picture of what is happening there, as I found during my two months in the Peiping-Tientsin area just to the south.

The facts I did secure I was only able to put into focus after an interview in Shanghai with Dr. Solomon Trone, one of the world's great hydroelectric and planning engineers and one of the few persons in the world qualified to give an accurate estimate of Communist China's industrial potentialities. The Russian-born Dr. Trone had a distinguished career with General Electric in this country before becoming chief foreign adviser on the great Dnieperstroy dam, built during the first Soviet Five-Year Plan. Recently he spent two years drawing up industrialization plans for the Nanking government. He had hopes of staying on to advise the incoming government but feels there is no future in China now for an American.

It was interesting to learn that Dr. Trone believes China can be industrialized about as fast as the Soviet Union was. Labor, he pointed out, is the main investment in industrialization, and China has about three times as many pairs of hands as Russia and already has the same number of industrial workers—two million—as the Soviets had when they started. Although China's mineral resources are probably not so great as those of Russia, they are fairly extensive and still largely unexplored. The Soviet Union had a somewhat bigger industrial plant to begin with, more exportable products, and much more railway mileage. And its population was not so close to the subsistence level; it will be extremely difficult to depress living standards in China in order to accumulate social capital for investment. However, Dr. Trone reminded me, China is not so isolated as the Soviets were and is much farther advanced in thinking about national planning. An excellent core of some 15,000 engineers, technicians, and managers already exists in the National Resources Commission established by the Kuomintang. And there are several dozen young Communist planning engineers who were trained in the U. S. S. R. and can apply Russian experience to China's not too dissimilar conditions.

Very soon we found ourselves talking about Manchuria, which is bound to be the hub of any Chinese industrial program. Manchuria has twenty-seven billion tons of coal reserves, a billion tons of iron-ore reserves, large supplies of aluminum, molybdenum, and magnesite, and a substantial amount of copper, lead, zinc, graphite, gold, and oil shale. It has some fifty-four million acres of standing timber, and its rivers have a tremendous water-power potential. Manchuria also exports more agricultural products than any other region of China; its normal export surplus of 2,500,000 tons of soya beans would be worth more than $400,000,000 at today's prices, enough to finance much of China's import needs.

However, when the Communists finally gained the last bit of Manchuria at the end of 1948, it was not quite the prize for which they had begun fighting in August, 1945. Japanese sabotage, Soviet removals, Chinese looting, "scorched-earth" destruction, and inevitable deterioration had probably set back its development more than a decade. Manchuria's industrial production in the key categories is now less than 10 per cent of what it was four years ago. Much of it was based on cheap electricity supplied by the great hydroelectric projects of Kirin and the Yalu River, the latter shared with Korea. About 2,500,000 kilowatts were used then, while today, as a result of Soviet removals, industry is limping along on something like 150,000 kilowatts. Steel production is probably about 40,000 tons a year, as against about 3,000,000 tons in 1944. Coal production is in better shape—its present 6,000,000 tons is more than a fifth of the 1944 output.

The Communists have given first priority to restoring Manchuria's industrial productivity. Their press makes much of the "labor heroes" who have increased production or rebuilt a machine from the scrap heap. Several thousand Japanese technicians have been retained until Chinese can be trained and upgraded to replace them. Strong encouragement is given to small private industrialists to expand.

Most of the slow increase now being achieved is squeezed out of patched-up plants. When Chu Hsueh-fan, vice-chairman of the All-China Labor Federation,

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visited Mutankiang he was told about the visit of an American expert to a damaged workshop in 1947. "I asked the American," the foreman said, "if he thought the shop could be repaired. He decided it couldn't be, saying it would be better to build a new one. But we took only three months to get it running."

More than seven thousand of Manchuria's ten thousand miles of railway have been patched up. When the Japanese railway heads left in 1946 they boasted, "Six months after we are gone not a locomotive will move in all Manchuria." The Chinese Communists inherited worn-out rolling stock, a total lack of spare parts and lubricants, and tracks that had been repeatedly torn up in three years of fighting. In 1946-48 the Soviets withdrew their railway technicians, although they had acquired half-ownership of the Chinese Changchun trunk lines under the 1945 Sino-Soviet treaty, because they did not want to become involved in the civil war. At present conditions appear improved. The Soviet technicians have returned, and lubricants are becoming available through trade with Hongkong and Siberia and limited domestic production.

ANY substantial restoration of Manchuria's multiple damages, however, will take years and heavy imports from abroad. Dr. Trone estimated that if international politics and the question of payment did not enter into the matter, American engineers could restore steel production to three million tons in two years at a cost of a billion dollars. With the United States unlikely to give substantial aid to a Communist state and with Soviet industrial goods already promised elsewhere, more than ten years will probably be needed. The rate of progress will depend largely on the rate of Manchuria's trade expansion. In 1948 a barter trade began with both the Soviet authorities and the Hongkong merchants. The Manchurians are reported to be trading hog bristles and wheat for Soviet gasoline, trucks, cotton, and beet-sugar. With the Hongkong traders they exchange soya beans, bean oil, and bristles for rubber sheets, diesel-engine oil, and lubricating oils—on very generous terms.

This vital foreign trade depends in turn on the Communists' ability to increase Manchuria's agricultural-export surplus, and here they seem to be having their most pronounced success. They have been resettling the urban poor on farms instead of absorbing farm labor in factories. Land reforms have given the peasants fairly good-sized farms, and an effort has been made to provide every farm family with a draft animal. Because Manchurian fields need three horses to a plow, cooperative "mutual-aid teams" have been developed as a transition step to cooperative and ultimately collective farming. Several experimental state farms at which tractors are being tried out have been installed in the sparsely populated north. But for the most part agricultural production is being pushed up by such slogans as "One more cart of manure means one more bushel of grain."

Li Li-san, who once played Trotsky to Mao Tse-tung's Stalin, is often spoken of as the "boss" of Manchuria. Actually the semi-autonomous Manchurian regime, known as the "Northeast Liberated Area," is headed by Lin Feng, a dour, thick-set Manchurian who was political director of the Shansi-Suiyuan military headquarters during the war. The second most powerful man in Manchuria is the governor of Liaoning Province, General Chang Hsueh-shih, son of the former Manchurian war lord Marshal Chang Tso-lin and younger brother of the "Young Marshal," Chang Hsueh-liang, who is still under detention on Formosa for having kidnapped the Generalissimo at Sian more than ten years ago. Li Li-san, instead of being boss of Manchuria, is a vice-chairman of the Labor Federation, with headquarters in Peiping.

One would expect the Communists to be rather lenient in Manchuria. The Kuomintang party organization was eradicated during the long Japanese administration, and the big landlords became suspect as collaborationists. The Kuomintang further discredited itself after the war by bringing in hordes of avaricious carpet-baggers. The middle class laments the loss of many of its privileges since the Communist victory, but its discontent does not appear to be well organized. Yet though the opposition is weak, the Communist regime in Manchuria is notably more repressive than in North China. The Chinese can move about quite readily in North China but require road passes in Manchuria. If they wish to enter Manchuria from North China, they have to show Manchurian residence certificates. In Mukden they must report to the local police whenever they want to stay overnight at a friend's house. The United States consular staff in Mukden was placed under house arrest, apparently for using the consular radio after being warned to shut it down, and is now being withdrawn. In Peiping, in contrast, the consulate has not been asked to shut down its radio.

The Communist-imposed news blackout makes it hard to discover the precise cause for this tighter "bamboo curtain" around Manchuria. Resentment at Soviet removals of machinery and continued occupation of Dairen and Port Arthur undoubtedly persists, and the Communists may fear this resentment will be organized into some outburst against their loudly praised Soviet ally.

[*Mr. Roth has called our attention to two errors in the printed version of his article, The Crumbling Kuomintang, in our issue of May 21. Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang kidnapped Chiang Kai-shek in 1936, not 1937, although he was not arrested till 1937. And it was not Chang Chi-chung who led the diehard opposition against the Communists in April but Chang Chun. Chang Chi-chung, mentioned elsewhere in the same report, is a leader of the moderates in the Kuomintang.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Del Vayo—Europe Won't Fight

NOTHING that is written about Europe today, whether authentic or fantastic, nothing that is written about its recovery or its crisis, about what has been or is going to be discussed between the Pope and Myron Taylor, or between Stalin and Vishinsky, equals in importance the simple fact: Europe won't fight.

There is very rarely any mention of this fact in the American press or on the radio or in group discussions of foreign policy. Occasionally it is brought up by an ill-humored Senator as an argument against American aid to Europe, but nobody gets excited because such views are regarded as an expression of the old discredited pre-Pearl Harbor isolationism. Usually Europe is pictured as anxiously awaiting the creation of a continental military machine which will enable the countries outside the Soviet sphere of influence to hold back the expected red tidal wave.

After cherishing this illusion for two years, Americans are naturally shocked when they visit Europe with some more serious purpose than a pleasant summer vacation. Recently I heard an intelligent American, reporting on his first trip to Europe, stress above everything else his discovery that Europe was profoundly disinclined to be dragged into war. Two years ago I emphasized the same thing in these pages. Now Americans going to Europe are learning the truth for themselves.

Many different elements enter into this European determination to stay out of war, but the most potent is the twofold fear of occupation and of America's vacillating policy. Europe sees itself overrun by huge armies which have disembarked on its soil or advanced from the east to fight a colossal battle with weapons a hundred times more destructive than those used in the last war. Its own forces meanwhile serve as auxiliaries or as cannon fodder, and the civil population pays for it all with chaos and extermination. The world is at war, but it is Europe which bleeds. This feeling is expressed very frankly in an article by Jacques Ayencourt, "L'Américain, son information, la guerre, et la paix," in the current number of the liberal French Catholic monthly *Esprit*. "To an American," M. Ayencourt says, "war does not mean what it does to a Frenchman. The United States has never been ravaged by war; it has never been defeated in war. The American has never experienced bombings or a foreign occupation. For him war is something that takes place outside the United States. It does not overturn the social structure of his country but cements it more firmly." The last sentence should be noted, for it indicates the anxiety of progressive non-Communist Frenchmen about what kind of France would emerge from a third world war. They foresee fascism or communism—or a chaos worse than either.

The liberal Frenchman feels that just being on the road to war menaces the "social structure of his country." De Gaulle's chances of coming to power are clearly in direct proportion to the probability of war, and since De Gaulle at the head of the government would provoke the Communists to violent action, most Frenchmen believe war would break out in France even before any actual attack from outside.

Perhaps M. Ayencourt is too optimistic in thinking that the United States can prepare for war and develop a prewar psychology without undermining its democratic structure. Much that we are witnessing today in this country—the terrorizing of civil servants and private citizens, the comic fact that in the country of the telephone people dare not say anything intimate over it because their wire may be tapped—is a disturbing indication that collective life in the United States is already appreciably affected by the hysteria of war. But it would be absurd, until war comes, to compare its probable effects in the United States with those in Europe, where the progressive forces generally have made a notable retreat in the past two years. In France the Socialists will sooner or later be forced out of the government, and M. Paul Reynaud will carry out his idea that only through the liquidation of every remnant of the Resistance can the country be prepared for defense. Events in Italy are taking a parallel course, as we see from the recent aggressively reactionary speech of "the strong man" of the De Gasperi government, Minister of the Interior Scelba, at the recent congress of the Christian Democrats in Venice.

The other fear which makes Europeans tremble when they think the cold war might turn into a shooting war derives from the indecision and dilatoriness of American policy. The official spokesmen of the European chancelleries and the newspapers they dominate have extracted every possible advantage from the unanimous vote of the thirty members of the American Senate's Committee on Foreign Relations in favor of the Atlantic Pact, but the man in the street can see that the Senate is attending to domestic problems first and putting off action on the pact and the rearming of Europe.

That Europeans fear war above everything was again confirmed by their attitude toward the reconvening of the Foreign Ministers. Although naturally skeptical, they welcomed the meeting with a feeling of relief and hope not evident in America. Even the participants reflected this difference. Secretary Acheson and Mr. Bevin seemed to regard talk with the Russians as little more than a formal duty, but Mr. Schuman informed the French Cabinet on June 15—according to Harold Callender of the New York *Times*—that "the mere meeting of the Council signified a relaxation of the tension and was a step in advance, since it would facilitate further negotiations." He felt that "with luck the Big Four Foreign Ministers would come to an agreement by September."

The French Foreign Minister is by no means radical or pro-Russian. In fact, his excessive dependence on Washington and London has brought down on him the severe criticism of many very moderate French nationalists. But Mr. Schuman, accepting what Pandit Nehru once called "the hard logic of circumstances," is aware that the French people demand every effort to lessen the danger of war; he knows in his inmost being that Europe will not fight.

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SO THEY SAID

BY TIM TAYLOR

BUMPED into a friend on the street the other day and happened to mention the Alger Hiss trial. "See where Mrs. Chambers switched her story," I said.

"Oh, no," said my friend, "she backed up her husband's testimony. The *News* said so. So did the *Mirror.*"

"You must have skimmed over the stories," I said. "The *World-Telegram* and the *Compass* said she upset the prosecution's case when she altered her testimony regarding the date of a New Year's Eve party back in '37. Or was it '36?"

"The *Sun* admitted she was confused," my friend continued. "The *Herald Tribune* and the *Times* said the same thing. The judge ordered a five-minute recess, and when court reconvened Mrs. Chambers backed up her husband's statements. Or did she?"

"I'm befuddled," I admitted.

BACK HOME, I settled down with the afternoon papers of June 13 and the morning papers of June 14 and spent a couple of hours trying to piece together a true picture of what happened. Here's what I found:

The *World-Telegram,* violently anti-Hiss in the past, splashed a six-column headline across page one: "Mrs. Chambers upsets U. S. Case on Last Hiss Meeting." The subhead ran: "Confused, Alters Date of Party." Then:

> Mrs. Whittaker Chambers, exhaustively cross-examined by Lloyd Paul Stryker, became confused on the witness stand in the Alger Hiss perjury trial today and changed her testimony on the all-important date of a New Year's Eve party she said she and her husband attended at the Hiss home in Washington.
>
> Earlier in the trial she testified that the party was held on December 31, 1937, at the Hiss's Volta Street house. Mr. Hiss was indicted as a result of testimony that he did not see Mr. Chambers after Jan. 1, 1937.
>
> Today, however, she faltered under Mr. Stryker's questioning and said the party "must have been on Dec. 31, 1936."

The *Compass* carried a story by Sid Kline that said substantially the same as the *World-Telegram's* report. Mrs. Chambers "tried hard . . . to maintain" the story she had told previously "of intimate friendship" . . . , Kline wrote, but when cross-examination was over "there were gaping holes in the fabric woven by her under direct examination."

The *Daily Worker's* Louise Mitchell agreed that Mrs. Chambers hurt the prosecution's case; she "continued to mix up the key dates and places" and "contradicted her own previous testimony."

The *Herald Tribune's* account wasn't quite so positive. Mrs. Chambers "altered much of the testimony she had previously given," John Chabot Smith wrote. She "stuck to her story" that she and Chambers had visited the Hisses "during 1937," but "she several times changed her testimony about which visit took place on which date at which address."

THE *MIRROR'S* report disagreed completely with those I have quoted. "Wife of Chambers Holds to Her Story," said the three-column headline. The witness "faltered once or twice during the fiery examination. . . but her story as a whole was unshaken when she left the stand." Stryker "shook her composure," the *Mirror* admitted, but after the recess, it said, she testified the New Year's Party " 'must have been on December 31, 1937.' "

(The *World-Telegram,* the *Compass,* the *Sun,* and the *Herald Tribune* said she set the party date as "December 31, 1936"—one year earlier. The *News* said she admitted the party "might have been" in 1936. The *Times* said Mrs. Chambers cited the 1937 date.)

The *News* more or less agreed with the *Mirror.* "At the end of the day, however, her story was little changed from the story she had told on direct examination," Grace Robinson and James Desmond reported.

The *Christian Science Monitor* said the defense had failed to break down Mrs. Chambers's testimony.

THE *SUN* and the *Times* did not draw any conclusions from the witness's testimony. The *Sun* reporter, Harold Brown, editorialized slightly when he said Mrs. Chambers remarked that she was a little confused—"a confusion which apparently was shared by almost everyone in the court room," he added.

Whoever wrote the *Times* headlines for William R. Conklin's story played it safe. The subhead that told of Stryker's tactics was a little gem. "He Tries to Confuse Her," it said.

The *Post* gave little space to the court battle. A three-column headline said, "Mrs. Chambers Faces Stiff Cross-Fire on Hiss Friendship"; the story underneath said even less.

The *Journal-American* ignored the clash over the party dates. Howard Rushmore concentrated on Mrs. Chambers's statement that she considers her husband "a great man." The *Times,* the *Herald Tribune,* the *News,* and the *Sun* also played up this part of her testimony and built their headlines around it.

WHETHER OR NOT Mrs. Chambers's testimony aided or injured the government's case is a matter for the jury—and time—to decide. A reader of the daily press is hardly qualified to form an opinion.

If the Hiss jury were made up of the reporters that covered it for the major dailies, it would probably be unable to reach a verdict.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Essays and Asides

WANTED: THE WHOLE FILM PACKAGE

BY PARKER TYLER

LONG ago philosophy and psychology proved that the *sensation* of time has no direct connection with the spaces of the clock. Aesthetic form cannot be fitly determined by chronological laws. Why, then, an arbitrary standard for the length of feature films (between one and two hours, with the average on the shorter side)? The answer is culturally embarrassing: public leisure time is rationed. This, if so strictly true, is bad enough. Perhaps like so much else passively endured by majorities and minorities in America, the art economy of film running-time is to be called a "necessary evil." Yet I believe that the film customer who judges what he sees should be more thoroughly aware of the ways in which the potential film package is reduced, streamlined, and otherwise riddled before it gets to him. Half an hour or an hour cannot be equally precious to everyone.

Professional arbitration of both form and content is a complex institution in the arts. This process in Hollywood, of course, is a familiar scandal; now and again such an insurgent as Orson Welles must be disciplined. And however useful play doctors, professional collaborators, and publishers' editors may be in dressing an exhibit for the public, no such simple routine is denoted by the term "film-cutting," which includes everything from editing the eligible footage to state and national censorship and even to special bobbing for the neighborhood houses.

The adult customer of every art makes a primary distinction: slickness of presentation does not equal either integrity of substance or grace of form, and quite as a matter of course, a proportion of film audiences in New York and other cities are aware of unwieldy faults in film symmetry. When a film like Welles's "The Magnificent Ambersons," much to its maker's discomfort, receives its assault and battery at the source, the Hollywood cutting-room, the scars remain apparent to the perceptive minority. But other offenses, some little, some large, occur in places supposedly more respectable than Hollywood. Even imported films suffer when they go to the New York neighborhood houses, and I can sorrowfully attest that sometimes they suffer—and materially—at their first New York runs. The British film "Colonel Blimp" was charitably issued in two versions here, one doubtless that shown in England, the other a wretched piece of confused curtailment.

Even the taste of the selective American film-goer, gauged to the better foreign films, is subjected to the discretion of American distributing houses, which exercise a local editing power on the foreign films. One may be warned about such naively open butchery as that practiced on "Colonel Blimp," but no American, unless rarely privileged to see a foreign film at a preview before its initiation into local art economy, can know how much of the European package he is getting. Every foreign film obtains a double-barreled screening—state censorship and distributor—a triple-barreled one if one considers federal customs.

Of course, the distributors themselves suffer when they must concede the snipping of sex innuendoes and casual bits of physical exposure. The current French film "Devil in the Flesh" was long held up by the fear that censorial hostility would insist on removing its peculiar bite. Imagine: *adultery*—morally and otherwise denuded! A few years ago the French film "Hélène" was made fantastically stupid by the wholesale elimination of an essential motive of action—illegitimate pregnancy and birth. Such occasions illustrate the adult prudery of official censors. But lesser cuts are arbitrary and apparently not official responsibility.

I noted with bewilderment—considering the ritual unveiling of male torsos in American movies—a fugitive hiatus in the first-run showing of "Beauty and the Beast," Jean Marais's unadorned but presentable upper part. Perhaps someone felt that his wavy, shoulder-length hair and skirt-like breeches were too insinuating. An entire amusing and certainly not obscene sequence, important to the sub-plot, was omitted by local editing from Cocteau's original footage for the same film. Inexplicably absent from the neighborhood version of Olivier's "Henry V" was a dynamically effective shot of the English archers' flight of arrows against the sky—doubtless one of many brief cuts made in obedience to the cultural stop-watch. I ask if the hands holding this watch don't take too much on themselves.

The more important and pretentiously advertised foreign films might seem to be exempt from the mutilation required for the leisure time assumed available to New York film-goers. But such was not the case with that very worthy item "Children of Paradise," whose latter half, before any part of the public saw it, was pruned into a stumbling incoherence of which even an average film-goer must have been aware. The straight six-hour running time of Pagnol's trilogy, "Marius," "Fanny," "César," though individually edited, was a precedent to be imitated. It should be a rule that adult-slanted art (meaning Shakespeare, etc.) can sustain interest at two to three hours per feature. Perhaps local distributing houses would listen to the reasons of enough particular film-goers in New York.

Luckily, a New York institution offers casual consolation to the local habitué who would like to insist on the whole film package. The Film Library of the Museum of Modern Art sometimes uncovers original prints of "classic" and current films that exist virginally, without reference to how much footage the film public is mythically supposed to prefer. Some day we may see all of "Children of Paradise" there. Now we

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can see there, periodically, the most complete version of Griffith's "Intolerance." But why should a museum be the only force dedicated to getting us the whole film package? Here is work for a cultural minority.

[*Next week: In Pursuit of the Overtakeless, by George F. Whicher.*]

Inside the Satellites

BEHIND THE CURTAIN. By John Gunther. Harper and Brothers. $3.

THE Russians don't want war; neither do we, but Russian ignorance of American psychology could conceivably produce World War III, says John Gunther in the course of a remarkably penetrating analysis of the two-power struggle that divides the world.

Let it be said at the start that this is Gunther's best book. He has approached this study of the Soviet satellites—he didn't get inside Russia—with a candor and detachment rare in these times. Gunther's qualifications—his insatiable curiosity, his ability to correlate the enormous amount of material he gathers, and finally his invaluable personal knowledge of Europe since 1924—are familiar enough; to these must now be added maturity of observation. Gunther at times past may have been guilty of superficiality, but that cannot be said of "Behind the Curtain."

If only Gunther would stop trying to pose as an optimist! His own conclusions are quite cheerless. He is appalled by the drabness of life in Eastern Europe, by the brutalization of thought. What is the good of being liberated from feudal serfdom, he asks, if industrial serfdom under the Soviets is just as bad? He recounts a conversation with a Communist:

> JG: "Do you think you will ever have civil liberties under communism?"
> Communist: "In about a hundred years."
> JG: "In other words, not till you have conquered the entire world, and it is safe to relax?"
> Communist: "Correct."

Gunther says the Russians are anxious to avoid a showdown now. But he believes they are "stalling" simply because they haven't yet got the atomic bomb. He doesn't think the war will start over an "incident." But he is troubled by the recollection that thousands of men were killed in border "incidents" between the Russians and the Japanese before World War II. It seems that the Soviet definition of "incident" is quite different from our own.

But the chief danger of war, he says, lies in the realm of Russian internal politics. Perhaps some shake-up in the hierarchy will bring an extremist element to the top. Perhaps an external adventure will be needed to save the regime from disintegration. "No dictatorship," he reminds us, "ever dies a natural death."

It is comforting to know that the Russians are not always so diabolically clever. Gunther lists three examples of Soviet maladroitness: (1) the withdrawal of Communist ministers from the Italian, French, and Austrian Cabinets; (2) the forcing of Tito from the Cominform by "Kremlin autocracy, ignorance, and bad manners"; (3) the blockade of Berlin that produced the air lift. But he warns us not to gloat over these amazingly gross samples of ineptitude. It is no time for complacency: the battle of ideas is by far the most serious that has ever confronted our civilization. Above all he asks us not to dismiss lightly such men as Matyas Rakosi, Deputy Prime Minister and Communist boss of Hungary. He reminds us that the Rakosis and the Mincs and the Slanskys are not mere Russian stooges but intellectuals who became Communists out of coldly rational conviction. Rakosi spent fourteen years in jail, and Gunther suggests that such an experience—particularly the three years in solitary confinement—might give a man a rather narrow and distorted view of civil liberties: people who never had civil liberties are not likely to be greatly concerned over the lack of them.

Gunther visited Yugoslavia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. For good measure he throws in two American satellites, Greece and Turkey, and gives us a fleeting glimpse of Italy, Trieste, and Vienna. His well-documented version of the Tito-Cominform row is by far the best account yet published of this historic break. He thinks the split represented by Tito may be a decisive factor in the future of all the

THE PRESENCE

Esse est percipi, aut percipere.

Under the unexisting trees, the unexisting
Drift, waver, vague as water, to and fro:
Mist under mist, and shadow under shadow,
Unoccupied, they go.

They do not see the trees, which, therefore, are not—
Dissolved, abolished, melted into air,
The trunk, the bark, the branch, the leaf, the swaying,
So there is nothing there.

Nothing, and no one. For the unperceiving,
All those who move about and never see,
If we believe more than a part of Berkeley,
Cannot be said to be.

The trees are safe, however. Wait, and hearken!
Perceivers are approaching, in whose tread
Comes quickness out of dark, music from shadow,
A stirring overhead.

Light almost audible, and color proving,
Past all denial, what our instinct knew,
An absolute, immune to disillusion,
The physical is true.

And even were there no one there to see it,
There would be one, a grace, a consciousness,
The seer, unseen, who comprehends, completely,
Who says, forever, *Yes.*

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

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satellites. At any rate it has considerably reduced the danger that Russia will make war in the foreseeable future. Obviously United States foreign policy should try to keep this split from being healed, Gunther says.

Gunther encountered some jingoism among American officers at Trieste—they seemed to be spoiling for a fight. He regrets the contemptuous way that most Americans in Trieste spoke of Yugoslavs as "Jugs" (it came out "Yugs" in my copy, obviously a misprint). He found Warsaw "alive, tenacious, almost gay," but he was depressed by the dull hopelessness of Prague. Jan Masaryk, he believes, was a suicide, but "it was the Communists who killed him." Gunther notes that Jews play a prominent role in many of the satellite governments and cautions against any tendency to blame Jews for the nature of their regimes.

He concludes that it will not be easy to detach the satellites from Russia and admits he doesn't know how it can be done. Meanwhile our best defense against communism is internal health, strength, and harmony: "Any satellite ought to be able to look us in the eye and find us decent, moderate, and strong."

He says the chief trouble with the Soviet system and the satellites is simply this: it hasn't worked. That is the main reason for satellite fear and hatred of the United States and why the iron curtain itself exists. "The Russians have to wall us out," says Gunther, "because, to date anyway, we have a better way of life." HOMER BIGART

German Realities

THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY. Edited by Gabriel A. Almond. University of North Carolina Press. $4.

ANY study which enlightens the American public on conditions in Germany is a great boon; and this one is particularly welcome because it is written by a group of experts who are remarkably free of ideological bias and have a thorough understanding both of present German realities and of their historical background. Authentic studies of Germany are needed because we are so remote from the realities upon which we exert such extraordinary pressure. We are one of the conquerors and occupying powers of Germany. We are at the same time allied with it in the contest with Russia. Mr. Wallace and many others would like to make it appear that this double relationship is nefarious. But epithets do not change history. The historical fact in the Berlin situation was that the Russian blockade was defeated by the common resistance of the Western nations and the Berlin population and would have succeeded if either partner had failed.

Naturally such a double relation has led us into many contradictions, not yet resolved. Thus we still follow a part of the Morgenthau plan, even in the revised "level of industry" program, and seek to lame the industrial power of Germany; while the European recovery program requires the utilization of German industry. Mr. Sanderson's chapter on Germany's Economic Situation and Prospects is a remarkably fair and comprehensive exposition of the problems we face in this situation, some of which we have ourselves created.

The chapter by Hans Meyerhoff on the Reconstruction of Government and Administration presents another contradiction. As conquerors concerned to prevent a former foe from restoring his erstwhile strength we favor a weak federal government. But as democrats who would like to encourage the democratic elements in Germany we must admit that federalism, as against centralism, gives the reactionaries an advantage over the democrats, particularly over the Social Democrats. It gives conservative Bavaria, for instance, undue weight in the contest of social forces in Germany. This contradiction arises to some extent from the partial schizophrenia of American democracy. We believe in democracy but are afraid of social democracy, which is the only kind of democracy existing in Western Europe.

Eugene Anderson's Freedom and Authoritarianism in German History and Wolfgang Kraus's and Gabriel Almond's Resistance and Repression under the Nazis reveal how completely unbiased this symposium is. The first proves that Nazism has deep historical roots in German life and must not be regarded as a mere aberration; the second shows how heroically the flame of freedom burned in the hearts of the "saving remnant" of the nation.

Whether this "saving remnant" is numerous enough to save Germany is a big question to which this book rightly attempts no answer. The Germans might be more resourceful spiritually than they are and German democracy might still fail because of mistakes made by the conquerors and because of the total world situation. On the other hand, if we eliminated every possible mistake, Germany might fail for lack of adequate resources within its own moral life. Germany is a very sick patient, with no chance of convalescence unless

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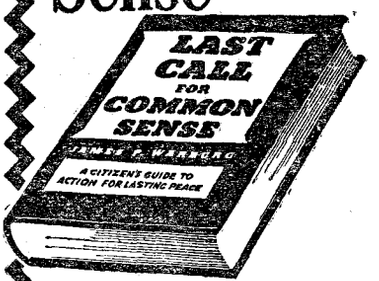

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its doctors achieve a higher degree of sanity. But even sane and resourceful doctors cannot guarantee the restoration of its health. REINHOLD NIEBUHR

A Master-Talker

SO FAR SO GOOD. By Morris L. Ernst. Harper and Brothers. $3.

ON THOSE rare occasions when conversation among us ancients who were born in the eloquent eighties bogs down, we can always start it up again by bemoaning what seems to us the fact that our youngsters have lost all power of civilized communication. Listening in on conversations among teen-agers, expensively and "progressively" educated teen-agers in particular, is like listening to the locker-room talk of a group of professional wrestlers. Grunts she, "Read Sartre?" Groans he, "Natch, Sartre's sharp." Long pause. He, "Goteny jack?" She, "Yeah." He, "Wanna go movie?" She, "Natch."

Probably we are off the beam, and among the Young Brains the seemingly sullen mumbling makes sense. And of course we are setting an impossibly high standard for young and old alike when we bring up the latest conversation piece of that master-talker Morris Ernst, lawyer, author, small-boat sailor, carpenter, labor-relations expert, sexologist, and mighty swell guy. By himself and with collaborators Morris Ernst has written a dozen books, or rather talked them. There is a time in every good talker's life when someone says, "Oh, if we only had someone around to take this down!"

All of Ernst's books sound as if that someone had been around the Stork Club or the Ernst homes in Greenwich Village and Nantucket when the author was going on about censorship, birth control, the mendacity of organized medicine, the Supreme Court, newspaper monopolies, and always and always F. D. R. Morris has many heroes —the late Justices Brandeis and Holmes, the garbage collector in Nantucket, Sigmund Freud—but he is above all a Roosevelt worshiper.

In this last book, a sequel in a way to his first autobiographical sally, "The Best Is Yet," Morris devotes a disarming chapter called The Man in the Chair to his gay relations with F. D. R. The frequency, by the way, with which that word "gay" is used by the author seems sometimes forced and should interest Morris's friends among the analysts. Morris insists too much, I think, that F. D. R. had a gay sense of humor. The samples that he gives us from his most informal correspondence with the late President fall disappointingly short of the elaborate build-up. None of F. D. R.'s wisecracks as gathered in this book seem to live up to Morris's indorsement: ". . . his [Roosevelt's] wit at times was sharper, even in a Broadway sense, than that of our top gagsters."

Let me hasten to say that I share Ernst's admiration for Roosevelt's shining courage, if not for his political integrity. Ernst was up to his neck in the civil-liberties fight against Frank Hague when the old corruptionist was regularly turning in his 150,000 *ja* votes for the Democrats from his terrorized bailiwick of Hudson County, New Jersey, and knows, as well as any of us who were, and still are for that matter, in the fight, that a word from the White House would have silenced the shrieks of the red-jowled vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee. But no word came.

But don't let this sour note keep you from reading the latest recordings of the best conversationalist of our times. Winter before last the author underwent a serious operation followed by a long convalescence, the first serious illness in an active life. His countless friends wondered if this would slow him down. Slow him down! It stepped him up to writing this present volume, in which he lustily damns the doctors who wouldn't let him read every chart on his case and who are on the whole, according to Morris, a dictatorial, reactionary bunch. All this, and his law practice, and his work for civil liberties, and his broadcasts, and his Stork Club nights too. For once a book-jacket writer may be right: "So Far So Good" is described as "the adventures—public and private —of an irrepressible man."

MC ALISTER COLEMAN

Program for Labor

LEFT, RIGHT & CENTER. By Sidney Lens. Henry Regnery Company. $4.

APPROACHING an economic turn in the road, American labor shows signs of confusion and indecision. Though worried by growing unemployment and harassed by the cumulative effect of a steady post-war decline in real wages, it exhibits no unified comprehension of its problems. Formulas offered by major union leaders to cope with possible deepening of the current recession vary widely. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union toys with a Julius Hochman idea for forcing manufacturers to build up cash reserves as a cushion against future slack seasons. A. F. of L. teamster locals under the guidance of Dave Beck try to buy a measure of industrial peace by offering to yield the strike weapon for a measured term of years. Walter Reuther and John L. Lewis and a half-dozen other leaders are strong steeds pulling the labor carriage in opposite directions.

The danger of disunity, at a time when sharp decisions impend, is underlined in "Left, Right & Center." The author is a lesser left-of-center A. F. of L. leader in Chicago. Out of his experiences he offers a number of suggestions, including the creation of unions of the unemployed, vesting of wide powers in city labor councils, merger of the A. F. of L., C. I. O., railroad brotherhoods, and independent unions, and the building of a labor party. The Lens program runs far ahead of present rank-and-file vision, but at least it is a serious effort to meet a challenging situation.

The essentially reactionary character

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of Stalinist party-line shifts and the fatty degeneration which sometimes results from business unionism give particular concern to Lens; yet he is realistic enough to note what the Peglers forget—that even racketeering and Stalinist-controlled unions are as a rule better for their members than no unions at all. To pull together the labor movement and free it from the influence of these extremes Lens proposes an educational alliance of all progressives who think along his lines.

Labor historians may quarrel with Lens's rather cynical conclusion that the leaders who set up the C. I. O. were trying to "circumscribe" the "increasing militancy of the men in the basic industries." They may dispute the rather casual way in which he brushes off the impetus given to the organization and growth of unions by the New Deal.

"Left, Right & Center" is on the whole carefully documented. It provides case histories of union racketeering in which the author fought more or less successfully on the side of the angels. It furnishes useful examples of the breakdown of strikes through jurisdictional weaknesses. It is particularly apt in tracing the "saturation process" of grievance and fear in the subconscious mind of an ordinary worker which sometimes causes industrial eruptions.

Sidney Lens has produced a provocative, thoroughly readable estimate of American labor at the crossroads. His book will stand worthily alongside the output of such familiar trade-union historians as Dr. David Saposs, Herbert Harris, and the late Edward Levinson.

OLIVER PILAT

Introduction to Beaumarchais

BEAUMARCHAIS. By George Lemaitre. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.

THIS is a good introductory biography for any one whose interest in Beaumarchais has been aroused through reading "The Barber of Seville" and "Figaro." It is a careful description of Beaumarchais's incredibly varied activities as watchmaker (he invented an important new escape movement), government secret agent, business man, playwright, and adventurer. Mr. Lemaitre ably reconstructs the historical scene, giving interesting glimpses of the court life at Versailles with its in-

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trigue and chicanery. He describes Beaumarchais's unceasing and finally successful efforts to have France support the American colonies against England and deserves credit for the diplomacy with which he tells how the American Congress consistently refused to repay Beaumarchais the millions of francs owed to him. Beaumarchais's adventures as a spy and secret agent are as exciting as a detective story, though the really curious reader may feel let down when the author must gloss over the details of a situation for lack of precise information or because guesswork would result in too morbid a solution.

It is easy to see why Mr. Lemaitre keeps Beaumarchais moving about like a jumping-jack. The book mentions his "unpredictability" and "the mysterious rhythm of his moods" and explains these through what are finally quasi-psychological superficialities—"the emotional earmarks of adolescence" resulting from a quarrel between the youthful Beaumarchais and his father.

I don't mean that the standard innocuousness of the academic biography, jacked up by an expert, hearty, journalistic style, should turn into a deep psychoanalytic study; yet since Beaumarchais, hardly a Dostoevski, nevertheless shares with him the almost incomprehensible motivations of the Underground Man, of what is known as the "neurotic character"—much more serious than being neurotic or even psychotic—one feels disappointed after finishing this book. It lacks real insight into a very complicated character. Worse, because Lemaitre consistently looks at his subject through the eyes of "a sound and sane adult," he is often patronizing.

RENÉ BLANC-ROOS

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Fiction in Review

ALTHOUGH George Orwell's "Nineteen Eighty-Four" (Harcourt, Brace, $3) is a brilliant and fascinating novel, the nature of its fantasy is so absolutely final and relentless that I can recommend it only with a certain reservation. This is Mr. Orwell's picture of the way the world ends: actually it does not end at all, physically—one would even welcome some well-placed atom bombs—but continues in a perpetual nightmare of living death. Thirty-five years from now, according to Mr. Orwell's grim calculation, there will be three great powers on this planet, any two of which will be constantly at war with the third, not for ascendancy but in order to maintain the political and economic status quo—"War is peace," as the party slogan has it. For the rulers of the future state it is enough that people are allowed to exist; their welfare—in any sense in which we understand the word—does not have to be taken into account. The dehumanization of man has reached its ultimate development. Love, art, pleasure, comfort, the sexual emotions, have all been recognized as the consumer products of a society based upon the freedom of the individual, and they have been liquidated. Life—if it can be called life—goes on only so that power may go on.

Mr. Orwell's description of how this dictatorship operates is ingenious in the extreme. The population is divided into Inner Party, Outer Party, and "proles." The economy of the state is always a war economy. The head of the government is Big Brother, he of the ubiquitous face, whose all-seeing eye follows one wherever there is light. The strong arm of power is the Thought Police; the greatest sin against the state, Crimethink. To help the police detect subversion every public or private room is equipped with a telescreen which records each move and utterance of the individual citizen. There is a Ministry of Truth whose function it is to eradicate whatever may have been said yesterday which is no longer policy today, and a Ministry of Love where dissidence is educated into orthodoxy before it is exterminated. There is a state language, Newspeak, consisting only of such words as make freedom of thought impossible.

Here is Mr. Orwell's vision of the future. The fact that the scene of "Nineteen Eighty-Four" is London and that the political theory on which Mr. Orwell's dictatorship is based is called Ingsoc, which is Newspeak for English socialism, indicates that Mr. Orwell is fantasying the fate not only of an already established dictatorship like that of Russia but also that of Labor England; and indeed he states very clearly that "by the fourth decade of the twentieth century all the main currents of political thought were authoritarian. . . . Every new political theory, by whatever name it called itself, led back to hierarchy and regimentation." This assimilation of the English Labor government to Soviet communism is surely, from any immediate political point of view, unfortunate. On the other hand, whatever our partisanship for the present English revolution as against the present situation in Russia, we must recognize that the generalization in the lesson Mr. Orwell is teaching is a proper one. Even where, as in his last novel, "Animal Farm," Mr. Orwell seemed to be concerned only with unmasking the Soviet Union for its dreamy admirers, he was urged on by something larger than sectarianism. What he was telling us is that along the path the Russian revolution has followed to the destruction of all the decent human values there have stood the best ideals of modern social enlightenment. It is this idealism he has wished to jolt into self-awareness. In the name of a higher loyalty, treacheries beyond imagination have been committed; in the name of Socialist equality, privilege has ruled unbridled; in the name of democracy and freedom, the individual has lived without public voice or private peace—if this is true of the Soviet Union, why should it not eventually be equally true of the English experiment? In other words, we are being warned against the extremes to which the contemporary totalitarian spirit can carry us, not only so that we

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will be warned against Russia but also so that we will understand the ultimate dangers involved wherever power moves under the guise of order and rationality.

With this refusal to concentrate his attack upon Soviet totalitarianism alone Mr. Orwell reassserts the ability, so rare among intellectuals of the left, to place his own brand of idealism above the uses of political partisanship. It is very difficult to pin a political label on the author of "Nineteen Eighty-Four": if one has heard that Mr. Orwell is now an anarchist, one can of course read his new novel as the work of an anarchist—but one can just as easily read it as the work of an unfashionable, highly imaginative democrat or of an old-fashioned libertarian. Yet one cannot help being thrown off, I think, by something in the book's temper, a fierceness of intention, which seems to violate the very principles Mr. Orwell would wish to preserve in the world. Whereas "Animal Farm" was too primitive a parable to capture the emotions it wished to persuade, the new book exacerbates the emotions almost beyond endurance. Even apart from the cruelty of its imagination—and Mr. Orwell has conceived the inconceivable—one is disturbed by the book's implacable tone and the enormous pressure it exerts upon the reader, in such marked contrast, by the way, to the relaxed, beautifully civilized tone of Mr. Orwell's literary and sociological essays. To make this criticism is not to ask for quietism as the method of combating the passions which are destroying modern life. But it is to wish that there were more of what E. M. Forster calls the "relaxed will" in at least those of us who, like Mr. Orwell, are so acutely aware of the threats of power.

DIANA TRILLING

Books in Brief

THE GREENER GRASS. By Berton Roueché. Harper. $2.50. Visits to such rural industries as mink, herb, potato, and duck farms, a cigar-maker, an ox raiser, and others. Readable but highly standardized *New Yorker* reporting.

THE BLACK HILLS. By Robert J. Casey. Bobbs-Merrill. $5. Tall tales and anecdotes of the Black Hills together with a supplementary guide and many illustrations. Sam Bass, Calamity Jane, Buffalo Bill, General Custer, Wild Bill Hickok, and dozens of other flamboyant characters swagger through the pages of this entertaining hodgepodge.

AGNES REPPLIER: LADY OF LETTERS. By George Stewart Stokes. University of Pennsylvania Press. $3. An intimate, authorized biography of a thoughtful and original woman. Unfortunately, Mr. Stokes overdoes the intimacy, and his book reads something like a house organ for the Philadelphia social literati.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THERE are some who take Toscanini's fidelity to the composer's score to mean that if there are only a *p* in one measure of a Mozart score and an *f* eight measures later, the *p* and *f* are all that Toscanini produces in his performance. But as it happens he has cited, as one of the difficulties in playing Mozart, the few directions in the score, and has remarked on how boring the music is unless one knows what to do between the *p* and the *f*. And actually there is in his performance a profusion of subtle inflection which creates exciting life between the infrequent *p's* and *f's*.

An illustration of the difficulty he mentioned is at hand in the performance of Mozart's Serenade K.361 for 13 wind instruments that Koussevitzky recorded with members of the Boston Symphony for RCA Victor (DM-1303, $6). I used to find the work uninteresting; this time I have found parts of it—like the slow introduction, the minuet, the slow movement—very fine, with no help from a performance which is a succession of lovely sounds produced by the excellent players without the phrasing, nuance, light and shade that should have been produced in those sounds by the conductor. The theme-and-variation movement suffers further from an excessively slow pace; and two movements and part of another are omitted.

And an illustration of Toscanini's practice is also at hand in the performance of Mozart's Concerto K.191 for bassoon that he recorded with the N. B. C. Symphony and its solo bassoon, Leonard Sharrow (DM-1304, $2.50). I would suppose this is a work that Mozart wrote as a display piece for some player he knew; and I would suspect also it was an occasion for Mozart to amuse himself—not only obviously and loudly with the tootling and braying he gave to the solo instrument, but quietly and subtly with the comments he gave to the orchestra—comments which would go unnoticed in the usual performance of the orchestral part, but which claim delighted attention with the life they have from Toscanini's inflection of them. And since Mr. Sharrow plays as the solo bassoon of the orchestra in a performance conducted by Toscanini, the performance has a unity of style that is rare in concerto-playing.

Columbia has issued the Letter Scene from Tchaikovsky's "Eugene Onegin" sung by Ljuba Welitsch with the Philharmonia Orchestra under Susskind (MX-310, $3.10). The music is very beautiful, the performance excellent, except for the steely sound of Welitsch's

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voice. I would have supposed she would sing the scene in Russian, but she sings it in German; and Columbia does not supply the text that is needed for so long a piece. The recorded sound from the standard shellac records is excellent; but the LP dubbing (ML-2048) is poor: with enough treble for the orchestra to sound live the voice is too sharp and is distorted in loud passages; with treble reduced for the voice to sound right the orchestra is muffled. The LP version of the closing scene from "Salome," on the reverse side, is less bright and distinct than the standard version (and here too the text should have been provided).

There are more such surprises among the LP's. Thus, the Ormandy-Philadelphia Orchestra performance of Rimsky-Korsakov's "Russian Easter" Overture has more brilliance in the violins on LP than on standard, but less solidity in the full orchestra; the performance of Prokofiev's "Classical" Symphony is compressed and strident on the reverse side of the same LP record, whereas it is spacious and natural on standard (both versions have the peculiarity of the sound becoming distant as it gets soft and near as it gets loud; but on LP the getting loud and near is unpleasantly explosive).

In the first new Columbia LP player attachment that I tried the motor was not steady; and my serviceman told me he had found this true of other specimens. The second one I tried ran steady but too fast.

The Lemonade Opera's production of Haydn's "The Man in the Moon" is very enjoyable.

CONTRIBUTORS

PARKER TYLER is the author of "The Hollywood Hallucination" and "Chaplin, Last of the Clowns."

HOMER BIGART, a member of the Washington bureau of the New York *Herald Tribune*, was until recently its correspondent in the Balkans.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR is professor of Christian ethics at Union Theological Seminary. His most recent book is "Faith and History."

OLIVER PILAT is a correspondent for the New York *Post Home News*.

RENE BLANC-ROOS is a member of the Department of Romance Languages at the University of Pennsylvania.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

The List

Dear Sirs: Your readers must have read that fascinating list of "un-Americans" circulated by the American Legion. Since the Legion doesn't specify *why* any of them are dangerous, I thought you might be interested in the following clarification à la Gilbert and Sullivan:

If you find that you're unable to
  determine who is pure,
They've got a little list, they've got
  a little list
Of eleven dozen characters of varying
  allure
Who may be Communist, who may be
  Communist.

Democracy is threatened by a host that
  runs the gamut
From Marshal Joseph Stalin to subversive
  Dashiell Hammett.
We can't avoid submission to collectivizing wives,
If people pay admission to a concert
  by Burl Ives.
You mustn't say that Perelman's your
  favorite humorist—
They've got him on the list, they've
  got him on the list.

If you've just seen a musical that's
  penned by Harold Rome,
You'd better tell the Legion boys you
  spent the night at home.
Turn off your television set when it
  presents Josh White,
And Arthur Miller's plays, you know,
  are Broadway's biggest blight.
And dozens more, the Legion says,
  would none of them be missed—
You'll find them on the list, you'll
  find them on the list.

BARBARA JAMESON

New York, June 3

Full Head of Steam

Dear Sirs: Several of the assumptions in Herbert Askwith's article Our Pampered Railroads, in *The Nation* of May 14, are not supported by the facts. Without discussing all of them, I should like to comment on the following:

1. The Interstate Commerce Commission has not concerned itself with "insuring a high profit return for the railroads." In fact, the rate of return upon the investment in railroads, less depreciation, has averaged only 3 2/3 per cent in the past quarter of a century. In the five war years it averaged less than 5 per cent. In 1946, the first year after the war, the rate of return was only 2.74 per cent; in 1947 it was 3.44 per cent, and in 1948 it was 4.38 per cent.

2. The railroads have not failed to seek higher revenues through more efficient management. They have been faced, like all other business, with the inflationary effects of the Second World War. Between 1939 and the end of 1948 the average level of railroad wages went up 86½ per cent, and it will go up farther in 1949 as the result of the introduction of the forty-hour week, effective on September 1. In the same years the index of the prices of the materials, supplies, and fuel purchased by the railroads rose 117 per cent. In the face of this virtual doubling of unit costs of the two principal elements in the production of transportation, the operating cost of producing a ton-mile of freight service in 1948 was only about 37 per cent more than it was in 1939—indicating the great gains made in efficiency in railroad management in that time.

3. Declines in railroad traffic have not been caused primarily by increases in railroad rates. Of the total shift of traffic from rail to truck which has taken place since the war, more than 60 per cent had already taken place prior to 1947, before there was any substantial increase in railroad rates, and less than 40 per cent has taken place in the two years 1947 and 1948 during which there have been substantial railroad rate increases.

4. The statement that "wage scales have been raised several times . . . as a sequel to these rate increases" completely reverses cause and effect. There were very substantial increases not only in railroad wages but in wages generally long before there were any increases in railroad freight rates. Railroad freight rates, in fact, were no higher at the end of the Second World War than they were when war began, and in many instances were lower. Before there was any post-war increase in railroad freight rates, there had already been an increase of approximately 50 per cent in railroad wages and a rise of more than 40 per cent in the level of prices generally. The subsequent increases in railroad rates have been granted in an effort to more nearly restore the balance between railroad income and railroad costs.

5. The reference to "more than

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twenty rate boosts" is misleading. It implies, to the uninitiated, that these were boosts on top of boosts. This was not the case. It is true that railroads are receiving the highest peace-time revenues they have ever received—partly because they are handling more traffic than they have ever handled in peace time and partly because of the increases in rates. However, present passenger fares average less than the fares after the First World War and freight charges average only slightly more than those in effect after the First World War, even though railroad wages are now more than double what they were then and the prices of the materials, supplies, and fuel purchased by railroads are very substantially higher than they were at that time. In comparison with the value of the commodities hauled, the level of freight rates today is lower than it has been at any time since prior to the First World War.

ROBERT S. HENRY, Vice-President,
Association of American Railroads
Washington, June 2

Watch That Boiler!

Dear Sirs: Mr. Henry doesn't like my conclusions, naturally—but he fails utterly to show any errors either in my facts or in the soundness of my argument. Taking up his points one by one:

1. The ICC has granted every demand of the railroads in the past three years for higher rates—and twenty-one out of the twenty-two demands have been met to the exact decimal point. If that hasn't given the railroads a "high profit return," the railroads have been most remiss in framing their demands. As for the "rate of return," we had better not venture into that "blue-sky" area.

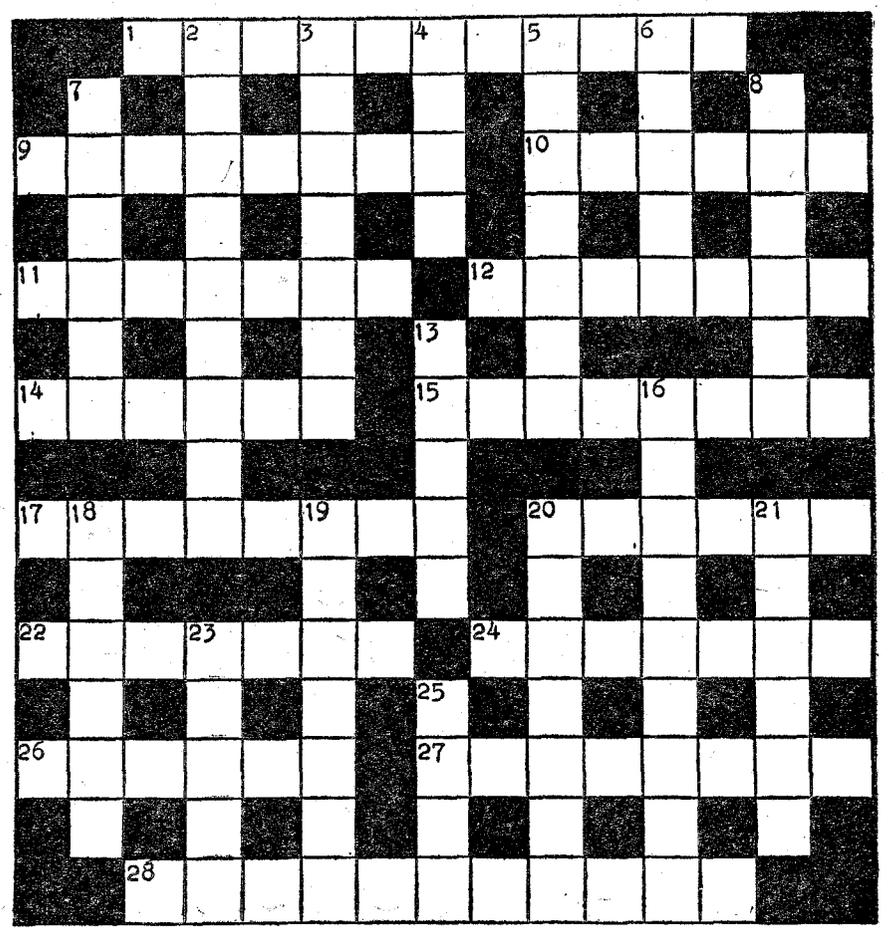
2. Several railroad presidents and the ICC itself have advised the railroads to "seek higher revenues through more efficient management instead of through higher rates." So I have good authority for my statement. And besides, how can you expect a spoiled child to work hard for an allowance when it can get all it wants, whenever it wants it, from a doting guardian—in this case, the ICC?

3. Mr. Henry's loyalty to his clients is stretched pretty far when he questions the fact admitted by everyone else, in and out of the railroads, that "rate increases have caused sharp declines in passenger traffic and carloadings."

4. It is perfectly silly to argue which came first—the chicken or the egg. The fact remains undeniably true that "wages

Crossword Puzzle No. 316

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Persistent permutation. (11)
9 On the range in the old days, perhaps. (Most of it is missing.) (8)
10 Debussy's writings were not the graven kind. (6)
11 Devilish tunes? Makes matters worse, rather. (7)
12 A soldier can't be very particular! (7)
14 Built like a bird in back? (6)
15 Respighi's piece isn't strictly for this! (3, 5)
17 Supposed to be like a summary in the Police Department. (8)
20 This season speaks well for Florida. (6)
22 Encounters briefly, but the 9 kind require more application to acquire polish. (7)
24 Grants of string in a broken bag. (7)
26 Suppliant without a morsel of food. (6)
27 Sometimes responsible for the upkeep of rats. (8)
28 Unionism? I go for it, even though some find it contemptible. (11)

DOWN

2 The stories of their struggle are apocryphal. (9)
3 Writer's circle in Athens. (7)
4 Follows price quotations, perhaps. (4)
5 You might find it even a state of simplicity. (7)
6 Only a small amount to copy. (5)
7 Leads to true things. (Also sounds!) (6)
8 This sort of trader certainly doesn't make progress. (6)
13 A brown one is an abstraction. (5)
16 Trip Mom up without any practice. (9)
18 Seldom depend on the Sun! (6)
19 Some art form for the teacher! (7)
20 Butterfly of note was one of his accomplishments. (7)
21 Gerunds usually do! (6)
23 The sound of the canter? (5)
25 Language of most Haitians. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 315

ACROSS:—1 EARMUFFS; 5 BROGUE; 9 DISHRAG; 10 COUPLET; 11 WRINGER; 12 INDIANA; 13 RITES OF SPRING; 15 ARTESIAN WELLS; 21 KEYNOTE; 22 LORELEI; 23 TRUANTS; 24 ERMINES; 25 POSERS; 26 ASSESSED

DOWN:—1 ENDOWS; 2 RUSTIER; 3 UPRIGHT; 4 FIGURE-SKATERS; 6 ROUNDUP; 7 GALVANI; 8 ESTRANGE; 10 CLIFF-DWELLERS; 14 BACK-STOP; 16 TRYOUTS; 17 SPOONER; 18 LARAMIE; 19 SILENUS; 20 MISSED.

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have been raised as a sequel to rate increases and the higher prices they have helped to bring about." All the public wants to know—no matter who started it—is when it is going to stop. And why shouldn't the railroads be the ones to stop it, since as Mr. Henry himself admits, "the railroads are receiving the highest peace-time revenues they have ever received"?

5. My footnote made it clear that some of the rate boosts were "interim raises absorbed in final over-all raises." So Mr. Henry should apologize for calling my statement "misleading." And I wonder what his apology would be for the latest demand of his clients for another boost of 12½ per cent in passenger fares—coming only three weeks after a solemn promise made to the ICC by the railroads' chief counsel that the pending request for a 13 per cent freight-rate boost would be the very last the railroads would make for a long time.

Like other railroad spokesmen, Mr. Henry shows no concern for the public interest. He is only interested in what the railroads are "entitled to," regardless of the burden upon the public. The greed of the railroads for higher and higher rates is insatiable. After exacting four billion dollars in additional revenue per year from the public and enjoying as a result "the highest peace-time revenues they have ever received," to quote Mr. Henry, the railroads are still demanding more. Such a selfish policy, if not speedily curbed, can only lead to disaster for both the general economy and the railroads themselves.

HERBERT ASKWITH

Larchmont, N. Y., June 8

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Dear Sirs: Each day the job of a union becomes tougher. The day-to-day problems of collective bargaining and grievance handling become more involved with every new contract. Every session of Congress and the state legislatures passes laws aiding or hindering or regulating labor. Whether the laws are favorable or unfavorable to labor, they complicate the union's job. And each day labor assumes greater responsibilities inside and outside the mill.

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LAWRENCE ROGIN,
Education Director,
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New York, June 10

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Dear Sirs: On April 2 you published our letter about A. D. A.'s summer study trip to Britain. In addition to this trip, A. D. A. is making available low-cost transportation to Europe for qualified persons. These trips will be via Youth Argosy chartered planes and ships during late July and August, returning in August, September, and October. Persons interested in taking advantage of these travel arrangements should get in touch with us as soon as possible at 1740 K Street, Washington 6, D. C.

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Washington, June 4

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